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Gen. Churchill

THE STANDARD BEARERS.—OFFICIAL EDITION.

— THE —

AUTHORIZED PICTORIAL LIVES
OF

STEPHEN GROVER CLEVELAND
AND
THOMAS ANDREWS HENDRICKS.

BEING

A FULL AND AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE OF THE ANCESTRY AND EARLY LIFE OF THE GREAT REFORM GOVERNOR; SUDDEN ORPHANAGE AND EARLY STRUGGLES; UNCONQUERABLE PURPOSE IN GAINING AN EDUCATION AND TRIUMPHING OVER POVERTY, COLD AND HARDSHIP; BOY-CLERK IN VILLAGE STORE AND ERRAND-BOY IN LAW OFFICE; SUCCESSIVE TRIUMPHS AS A LAWYER AND PUBLIC OFFICER; THE YOUNG DISTRICT ATTORNEY AND FEARLESS SHERIFF; BRILLIANT AND STAINLESS ADMINISTRATION AS MAYOR OF BUFFALO AND CHIEF EXECUTIVE OF THE EMPIRE STATE; PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS, ETC., ETC.

AND

A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE, ACHIEVEMENTS AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF
HON. THOS. A. HENDRICKS,

WITH

HUNDREDS OF PERSONAL ANECDOTES, ETC., AND A GRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF THE
GREAT CONVENTION OF 1884,

ALSO A COMPLETE SUMMARY OF AMERICAN POLITICS FOR 120 YEARS, WITH ANALYSIS OF
PARTIES, LEADING MEASURES, ETC., STATEMENT OF POPULAR AND ELECTORAL
VOTES, ETC., ETC.—AN INVALUABLE RECORD FOR EVERY VOTER.

BY

COL. FRANK TRIPLETT,

Author of "Conquering the Wilderness;" "Sketches of Western Adventure;" "Prospecting, Assaying and Mining;" "The Enchanted Isle;" "The Doctor's Daughter;"
"The World's Religions, or Creeds of every Clime," etc., etc.

NEW STEEL PLATE PORTRAITS AND FINE ENGRAVINGS FROM ORIGINAL PHOTOGRAPHS, ETC.

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conflict, liberty, equality and human rights, and upon its ruins would arise the trebly-venomed curses of fraud, corruption and monopoly. Thank heaven that while American citizens still carry in their veins a trace of the heroic ichor of their liberty-loving ancestors, the eagles of Democracy must ever rise above all storms of passion and prejudice to point the way to that glorious victory that ends in human happiness achieved through human liberty!

Nowhere in the history of political parties do we behold such consistency and vitality as that displayed by this party. Aiming always at the greatest good of the greatest number—the very essence of a republican form of government—it has ever been the uncompromising foe of corruption, monopoly and oppression. Nowhere in its annals do we see the gigantic schemes of fraud and villainy that have cursed the sway of its antagonists. Here we have no Credit Mobiliers soiling the official robes of Congressmen, Senators, judges and even higher officials; here, too, we behold no whiskey rings smirching with their unhallowed stains even the curule chair of the Presidency itself.

In the records of Democracy we find no railway grants, giving of the lands of the American people in millions upon millions of acres to corporations, which if not finally curbed, must eventually subvert the rights of all free men. Search as we may, we find no Star-route thievery swindling the people yearly out of millions of dollars, ending in a farcical trial that turns the rascals loose to hatch new schemes of villainy by which money may be wrung, not from bondholders and railway magnates, but from

“A BOLD YEOMANRY, THEIR COUNTRY’S PRIDE,”

the bone and sinew of the nation, the men who in honest, honorable toil gain their daily bread by the sweat of their brows.

Under Democratic rule our flag floated over countless vessels, in every sea, from the scorching equator to the frozen poles; to-day it is an unknown emblem, save upon the masts of a few decaying and antiquated men-of-war, the jest of other nations and inferior in every respect to the cruisers of that fifth-rate nation, Spain. And yet, despite this disgraceful state of affairs, millions of dollars have been expended yearly upon this pretense of a navy; this miserable collection of rotting hulks, a scorn and a by-word to every civilized power.

Under the rule or misrule of radicalism we see the Dorseys, Robesons and countless other officials going into office poor, and with a wonderful *economy*, that plain men call theft, emerging after four years with millions of dollars. Truly a miraculous thrift that can transmute a four years' five thousand dollar salary into from three to five millions of dollars. Shameless corruption, open bribery and unblushing theft have become the rule and not the exception amongst the officials of the Radical *regime*. A single twelve months of their peculations exceeds the entire amount of losses that the government sustained in nearly three quarters of a century of Democratic government.

Is not this subject worthy of the consideration of all honest men, especially when all know that it is the poor man and the citizen of moderate means whose labor is taxed that these thieves and rascals may fatten at their expense? What is party prejudice when thrown into the balance against national and individual prosperity? What man of sense will vote for a party which no longer represents a principle, but is a mere idle sound, an organization held together only by the foul cohesion of public plunder; the Bradeys, Dorseys, Kelloggs, Robesons and other banditti

leagued together for the pillage of the public treasury? If this summing up of the pretensions of radicalism was altogether Democratic, we might doubt it as the malicious charge of an adversary, but how can we doubt it when the very founders of Republicanism and its grandest exponent, Wendell Phillips, testify to its emptiness and its utter corruption.

Its temporary mission accomplished, Republicanism vanished, and in its stead a specious phantom has arisen, a "hollow mockery, an unreal shadow," behind whose smiling and deceitful mask is hidden the ghastly, leering death's head of piracy and fraud. In 1876 these bandits stole the Presidency, and in defiance of the will of the American people placed in the nation's highest office a creature whom they themselves now denounce as a paltry fraud. This outrage upon the nation and upon even its meanest citizen was perpetrated by the party that had once numbered in its ranks such men as Horace Greeley, Charles Sumner and Wendell Phillips; men pure, even if mistaken.

This is the party which has squandered the fertile lands belonging to the American people, by millions of acres; which has filched from the national treasury billions of dollars; which has made bribery the main part of its political machinery, and has banished brains and decency; which has sullied the judicial ermine by placing upon the bench of the Supreme Court the bribed tools of giant corporations and monopolies; which has for the benefit of the wealthy few, made special legislation by which the poor might be still further impoverished and the weak ground into the dust that illegal monopolies might be built up.

This is the party that, when by the aid of its Dorseys, Bradys, Kelloggs, Spencers and other thieves, it had suc-

ceeded in seating its candidate in 1880, furnished the fanatical tool by which he was assassinated. There is no infamy of theft, bribery, fraud, perjury and murder of which it has not been guilty.

“Look on this picture and on this!”

Opposed to this league of tyranny, fraud and corruption, we find a party against which no charge of infamy can be truly made. For nearly three-fourths of a century entrusted with the reins of government, in its ranks developed no Dorseys, Kelloggs, Colfaxes, nor Guiteaus. Under its administration political malfeasance in office was unknown. there was no squandering of the public domain; no special or class legislation; no perjured officials banded with thieving contractors; no Supreme Judges foisted into their positions by railway monopolists of the Jay Gould class.

Our flag floated in every sea and carried with it a wholesome fear and respect; there was no seizing and murder of our seamen by such paltry nationalities as that of Spain; there was no squandering of millions of dollars for a paper navy that a pet contractor and a thieving secretary might accumulate fortunes. There was no Credit Mobilier encircling in its slimy folds so-called Christian statesmen whom a Massachusetts Congressman bought, like cattle, at so much a head. In lieu of these infamies there was equal justice for rich and poor; there was legislation for all alike; there was light taxation for the man of moderate means as well as for the millionaire; there were no favored classes; there were honest administrations; there was no bribery, and the judiciary was spotless. These were but a tithe of the blessings that accompanied Democratic rule to specify all would be an onerous task indeed!

In the ensuing contest the voter must make his choice between these two parties; one representing the cause of corruption, fraud, monopoly and a moneyed aristocracy; the other still battling with undaunted front for equal justice and for human rights. The champion of the masses, Democracy stands in the political arena unconquered and unconquerable.

"The eternal years of God are hers."

and though often seemingly vanquished in her struggle to perpetuate the principles of political freedom and the right of self-government, yet has her crest ever reappeared, more glorious from its temporary occultation, to lead the vanguard in the battle for civil liberty. Endowed with imperishable vitality—the gift of the heaven-descended goddesses of Truth and Honesty—no mutation of time, or season; "the cankers of a long peace," nor the dire upheaval of years of battle and bloodshed have been able to check her onward progress. Guided always by an inherent principle that has never bowed to force or fraud, her course has ever been in the straight path of duty—that duty being the protection of the masses against the encroachment of the few, who would subvert all individual and national freedom.

Like the iron veterans of the Man of Destiny, the Democracy has done noble battle upon many a fiercely contested field for the liberty of the citizen and the honor of the nation, and for the sake of the poor, oppressed and down trodden of other countries as well as our own let us hope that none of us may ever see the time when despair shall wring from our hearts the anguished cry that she has recoiled from the fierce fire of the battle, for in that recoil will go down in endless night all that is left of the Republic of our fore-fathers;

the constitutional rights of free men to govern themselves, bought by a hundred hard fought battles from Lexington to Yorktown—and Liberty.

“That fair goddess, whose celestial charms
Have in all ages lured the souls of men
To noble deeds.”

abandoning an earth too base for her pure spirit, will ascend again into the realms of God's own glorious sunlight. Should that day ever come, man, crouching like a slave beneath the lash of tyranny and fraud,

“Creeping worm-like beneath the angry heavens.”

may thank himself for his own overthrow and crawl on basely to an unhonored grave, the victim of his own cowardice, aided by the prejudice of party and the cunning of ranting demagogues.

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GROVER CLEVELAND.

CHAPTER I.

GROVER CLEVELAND—HIS BIRTH AND ANCESTRY.

THE PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER.—THE VILLAGE OF CALDWELL.—REMOVAL TO FAYETTEVILLE.—A DEATHLESS LYRIC.—A FAMILIAR FIGURE.—THE SOUL OF HONESTY.—AN OLD CITIZEN'S OPINION.—A HOMELY TRIBUTE.—A CHILD OF THE PEOPLE.—HANDICAPPED WITH POVERTY.—NO FAVORS ASKED.—A NOBLE DETERMINATION.—A THIRST FOR KNOWLEDGE.—THE BOY'S FUTURE.—BECOMES A CLERK.—THE GENERAL STORE.—A CRUDE CONGLOMERATION.—MULTIFARIOUS DUTIES.—A WALKING ENCYCLOPEDIA.—FIFTY DOLLARS A YEAR.—A YOUNG ATHLETE.—THE SLAVE OF DUTY.—HONEST AND FAITHFUL.—NOBLE LONGINGS.—HEROIC RESOLVES.

On the 18th day of March, 1837, there was born, in the little town of Caldwell, Essex county, New Jersey, a child upon whom its parents bestowed the name of Stephen Grover Cleveland. The father of the child was a Presbyterian preacher, blessed, if we consider money the root of all evil, with a small salary and a large family, and who experienced considerable difficulty in making both ends meet. The small village of Caldwell not proving a remunerative field of labor, the minister sought a more extended vineyard, where he could be of greater service in the Master's labor and where, also, there might occur some opening for the children with whom he had been so abundantly blessed.

Grover Cleveland, the subject of this sketch, was only three years old at the time of this removal, which was accomplished by way of the Hudson river and Erie canal. The location selected by Cleveland senior was the straggling village of Fayetteville. This hamlet, as it would be called in the older civilization of Europe, was of the usual type of small country towns; a collection of residences with large yards, an old style inn or tavern, a few stores and a blacksmith shop. There was the public well similar to the one which aroused the eloquence of the New England tramp printer and produced that deathless lyric "The Old Oaken Bucket."

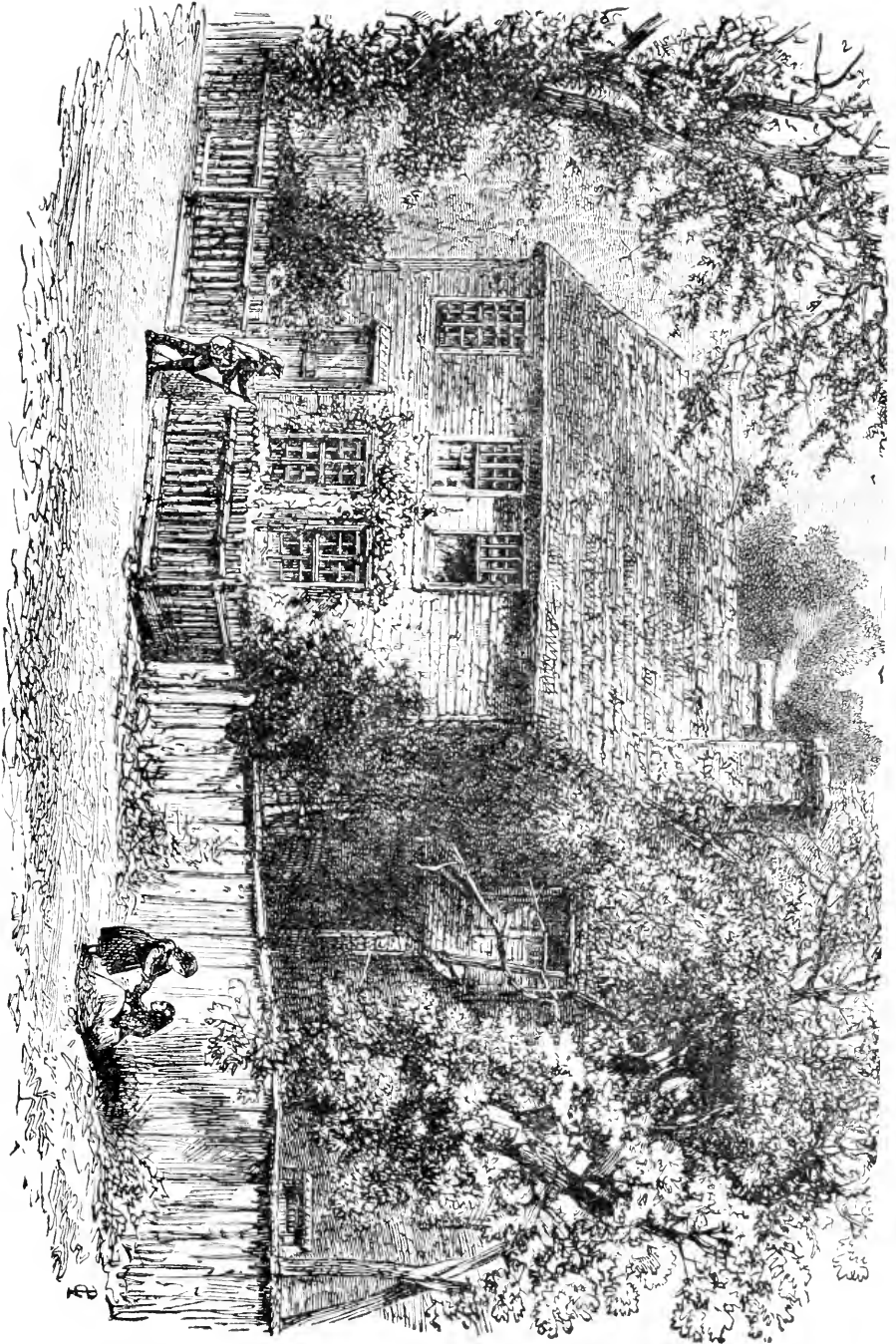
Out of the mossy, dripping bucket that hung in this deep cool well, full many a time and oft did the rosy child, destined to be the next President of the United States, slake his thirst, and no figure was a more familiar one than that of this child of the people. Full of life and animal spirits, his hearty romps and childish pranks have often caused the admiration of the honest burghers of Fayetteville, who could not but sympathize with the handsome, noble spirited boy.

If the brilliancy of genius cast a halo about the boy, the citizens of the village were too dull to note it, but it was a matter of remark to all, that he was the soul of honesty and fairness. Said an old citizen of the town, when told of his career as Mayor of Buffalo and Governor of New York:

"I never knowed as he'd ever raise to anything great—for you can't tell nothin' about boys—but I always did know that Grove Cleveland couldn't do a mean trick, and that he was jest as honest as the day is long."

A homely but noble tribute from one of the sturdy yeomanry and one most truly deserved. The honorable train-

HOUSE AT CALDWELL, NEW JERSEY, WHERE GROVER CLEVELAND WAS BORN.

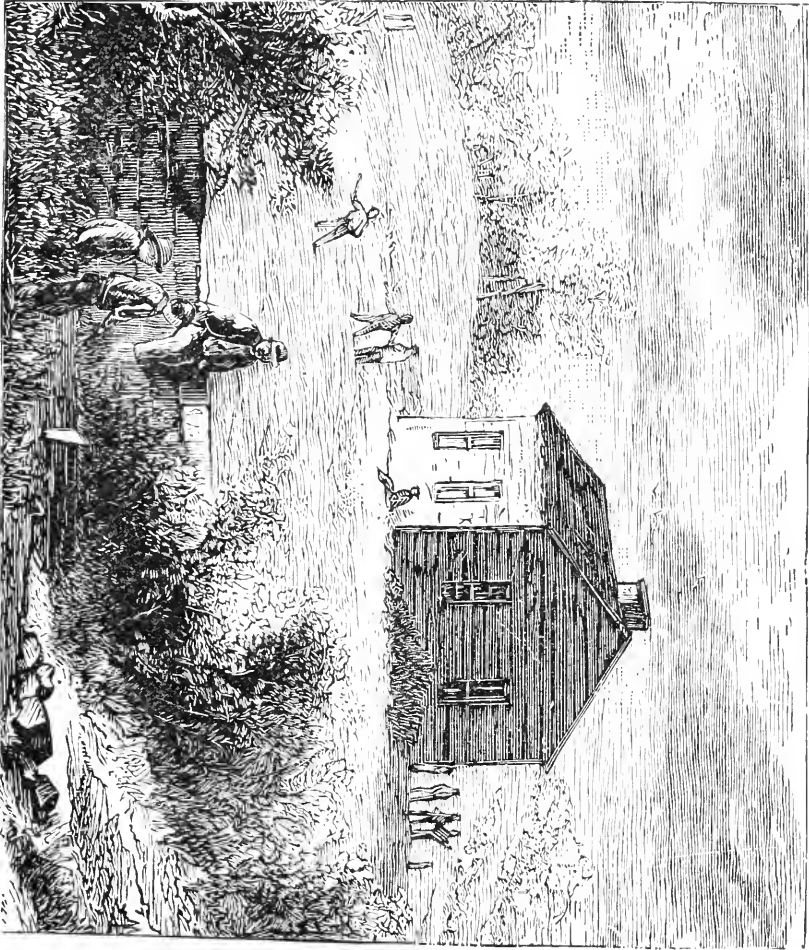


ing of that stern old Presbyterian sire had fixed in the mind of the child, the principles of honor and honesty as firmly and immutably as the rock-ribbed hills. He might never have developed the brilliancy of some of our statesmen, nor might he have made so conspicuous a figure in the arena of politics, but he could do better, he could show us a noble example of Roman honesty and Spartan simplicity and honor. The childhood of young Cleveland, like that of the majority of American born and bred citizens, was not "lapped in soft luxury," nor "pampered full with pride." It knew the usual measure of boyish joys and boyish sorrows; it had its successes and its reverses; it scored its victories and its defeats. Unlike his opponent, "whose father," says one of his biographers, "prided himself upon being a gentleman of elegant leisure," Grover Cleveland had no golden bulwark to stand between him and the storms of adversity, and no unlimited purse of Fortunatus with which to purchase sure success from adverse circumstances.

He was essentially a child of the people, around whom the gaudy goddess of aristocracy had not wrapped the purple of position to warn the masses from contact with her idol. Handicapped with the dead weight of poverty, his was one of the noble souls born for success; one of those gallant soldiers of fortune, who expect no favors and ask no aid in their contest with the world. The odds were against him, but this served only as a stimulus to renewed exertion, and rendered sweeter the fruits of each successive victory.

He was of the metal from which is forged the heroes, who from

"Low birth and iron fortune,
Twin jailors of the daring heart,"



OLD SCHOOL HOUSE AT CALDWELL, NEW JERSEY, WHERE GROVER CLEVELAND ATTENDED HIS FIRST SCHOOL.

wring victory at the sword's point of energy and perseverance. Determination characterized him as a child and a youth; that determination that afterwards enabled him to confront and strangle fraud and corruption in the high places of his native State, and that, in the life struggle, have rewarded his patient toil with a full measure of success.

What intuition gives to its favored darlings he acquired by force of mind and native industry, and while so-called genius and talent lay in inglorious dalliance with indolence and guilt, his noble mind scorned the luring syrens and ever struggled upward to its ideal elevation.

At Fayetteville young Cleveland remained until he was fourteen years old, by which time his bright mind, aided by untiring industry, had mastered all that the village school could teach, and with an unquenchable thirst for knowledge he clamored for a course at some academy more suitable to his attainments than the meager curriculum afforded by the home pedagogues. This very commendable desire found but slight response in the breast of the elder Cleveland, whose purse could ill stand the drain which a collegiate course for the son would make, and who was forced to make him self-supporting at the earliest possible moment.

How was this to be done? was the question. The boy might be put on a farm, or at a trade, or into a store—of other situations there was a dearth. It was finally concluded that the latter promised the highest remuneration and the greatest outcome, and hence application was made to the store-keeper for a position for the boy. He was a universal favorite, was bright, accommodating and, above all things, strictly honest, and the merchant was delighted to secure him as a clerk.

The store at Fayetteville, in which Cleveland served his

THE STORE WHERE GROVER CLEVELAND CLERKED, AT FAYETTEVILLE, N. Y.



novitiate to the trade of merchandising, was like those of the Western small towns of to-day. Dry goods and wet goods, groceries and hardware, stationery and clothes were there in close juxtaposition; and the clerk was liable at any moment to be called from weighing out a pound of codfish for farmer Granger to sell a bottle of cologne to Miss Belle, the village beauty. His duties were multifarious and his knowledge of merchandise must be universal. Pins and pickles, lard and leather, flour and fish, rope and sugar, teas and tin pans, all fell within his province, and he was expected to be a good judge of each.

The clerk must be able to keep books and make out accounts; he must be able to advise old Mrs. Smiley as to the best brand of tea, and young Mrs. Mayflower of the proper remedy for nervous headache; farmer Frugal came to him for his opinion as to the best variety of seeds, and the blacksmith consulted him about a liniment for wind-galls and bone spavins. From this slight enumeration of the every day duties of the clerk in a country store of that time and locality, it may be easily surmised where Buffalo's model mayor and New York's ideal governor accumulated that store of patience and tact that brought him out winner in his combats for the goddess of his worship, the star-eyed deity of reform.

The remuneration for this Hyperion of attendants and walking encyclopedia of useful information, must, you think, have been enormous. It was enormously inadequate. Young Cleveland received fifty dollars the first year, with the promise of one hundred the second year, if he suited the proprietor and could command a good trade. The first year Grover proved entirely satisfactory to the merchant and his

customers, and the second year found him equally attentive to his duties.

Although a strong, healthy boy, full of life and fond of the athletic games and sports of boyhood, yet Cleveland never shirked the onerous burdens that fell too early to his lot. A proficient in swimming, skating, ball-playing, and other youthful amusements, he gave to them only the time that was his own; that belonging to his employer was scrupulously spent in furthering the interests of the latter. No soldier of martial Rome, held to his post by the iron hand of duty, ever displayed more unswerving fidelity than did Grover Cleveland, and the character thus built up by noble self-denial and firm adherence to truth and trust, shine as brightly to-day as they did in the days of his boyish clerking in the village store.

Honor and integrity, the dual guardians of the upright, thus strengthened him for his combats with poverty and adverse circumstances in life's broad arena, and his experience in the school of adversity, probably saved him from degenerating into a mere clerk, satisfied with the daily routine of paltry duties. While filling the position of a clerk, however, none ever knew of his ardent longings for something higher and nobler; there was no repining against his lot, but it was bravely borne, though the determination to cleave his way to fortune and to fame, never died in the breast of the seemingly contented boy.

CHAPTER II.

DEATH OF CLEVELAND'S FATHER.

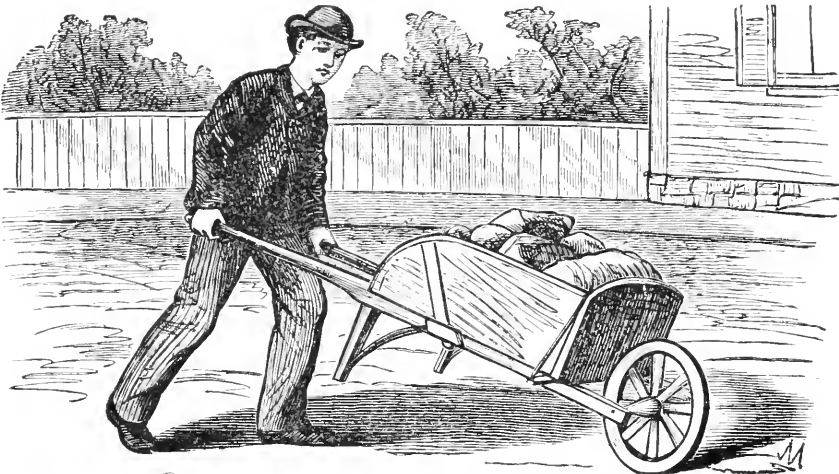
A DESIRABLE CLERK.—OFFERED EXTRAVAGANT WAGES.—AT SCHOOL AGAIN.—A MODEL STUDENT.—A HEALTHY CHARACTER. LEADER AND CHAMPION.—FIGHTING OTHERS' BATTLES.—THE VILLAGE BULLY BEATEN.—SAVING HIS ENEMY'S LIFE.—CLEVELAND'S DISPOSITION DESCRIBED.—THE REMOVAL TO HOLLAND PATENT.—A SOLDIER OF THE CROSS.—DEATH OF CLEVELAND'S FATHER.—GROVER'S VISIT TO UTICA.—A TERRIBLE SURPRISE.—A YOUNG STOIC.—A CRUEL MESSAGE.—A NOBLE COMFORTER.—THE FAMILY BROKEN UP.—INJUSTICE TO COUNTRY MINISTERS.—FOLLOWING GROVER'S FORTUNES.—FOUNDED UPON A ROCK.—CALUMNY AND ENMITY.—INDOMITABLE ENERGY.—FAITH AND TRUTH.

When Grover had completed his second year's clerical duties the merchant was more desirous than ever to keep him, and in fact offered him what were then extravagant wages and an engagement for an indefinite length of time—as many years as he chose to stay—if he would only remain. What the boy might have concluded to do is doubtful, but just then his father made another remove—this time to Clinton—and as there was a high school at that place, Grover decided to accompany the family and drink deeper draughts from that Pierian spring that had been so long denied.

In the school he proved a model student, as in the store he had proved a model clerk, and his progress was rapid. No time was wasted in folly, and the teachers marvelled at the robust youth, who, though brimming over with animal spirits, made everything secondary to the acquisition of knowledge, as if he had laid down for himself a system

from which there was to be no deviation. While in the school there was no silly sport, no vacuous idling, with this boy, though amongst his comrades on the play-ground he could be as boisterous as any of them.

It must not be thought that the boy was a milksop, or a Miss Nancy, too lackadaisical and young-ladyish to enjoy boyish pastimes. On the contrary, he was the leader in all sports, and the champion of all who were weaker or more timid than himself. His boyish battles were many, though



YOUNG CLEVELAND—THE MODEL CLERK.

one of his school mates says that he really believed that "Grover never had an enemy."

In explanation of this contradictory statement, he said that while often engaged in fighting the battles of others yet he seemed to have none of his own, and he mentioned a case in which the moral courage of Cleveland showed forth remarkably. While at Fayetteville the young clerk was noted for his hatred of all kinds of imposition and injustice, and when he detected the burly village bully imposing



GROVER CLEVELAND AND THE VILLAGE BULLY.

upon a small boy, he unhesitatingly threw himself into the breach to defend the weaker side.

The bully astonished at this interference with his privileges turned quickly upon young Cleveland and asked him what he meant by interfering with him. "I mean," said the fearless boy, "to prevent you from imposing on a little fellow that can't defend himself." "Little fellow," said the bully in amazement, "why he's fully as big as you are, and I can lick half a dozen of you."

"If you ever undertake it, you'll find that one is about all you'll want to handle," said Cleveland.

At this the bully seized Cleveland by the collar, intending to give him such a threshing as would prevent any future interference from this manly advocate of fair play.

While taken by surprise, the indomitable courage of the boy at once asserted itself, and although inferior in size to the bully, yet his thews and sinews had been hardened and strengthened by continual exercise and he did not despair of victory. Grasping the shoulder of the bully with his left hand he planted a stinging blow in his face with the right, and as his opponent recoiled, with a skillful kick he tripped and threw him heavily. To jump upon him and batter him until he cried for quarter was the clerk's next move, and he was then allowed to rise, completely crest fallen.

It was not three months after this until young Cleveland saved the life of the bully, who had fallen into a deep slough from which he was unable to extricate himself, and into whose treacherous quagmire he was becoming rapidly engulfed. "That was just his disposition," said our informant, "he'd whip a boy one day, if he was guilty of any cruelty or injustice and then turn the very next and take his part, if he saw him in trouble.



YOUNG CLEVELAND SAVING HIS ENEMY'S LIFE.

From Clinton Cleveland's father made another move—going up on Black river to the town then known as the Holland Patent, a thriving little village containing some five or six hundred inhabitants, and located about fifteen miles north of Utica. This was destined to be the last station of this noble old soldier of the cross, for here, like Moses upon the hoary top of mighty Pisgah, he was destined to lay down the leadership of his master's flock and to enter into the joys of his Lord.

For three Sundays only did he fill his pulpit, and then suddenly, "like a thief in the night," came the grim reaper and gathered him into the fold of the faithful. For him there was to be no more of earth's sorrows and distress; Providence had opened to him the joys of immortality through the awful gate of death and the appalling "valley of the shadow." The poet has truly said that for the good

'There is no death,
What seems so is transition;—
This life of mortal breath
Is but a suburb of the life Elysian,
Whose portal we call death.'

Through the gloomy portal of the grave the faithful spirit of the venerable servant of God had entered into Paradise, but this knowledge could not hush the anguished sobs of the stricken family, nor bring at once the "respite and nepenthe" that time's soothing touch alone can give.

Grover Cleveland and his sister were on a visit to Utica and a messenger was sent there at full speed to announce the dread news to them. Seeing them upon the street, the messenger announced his errand with the bluntness of unintentional cruelty. The youth staggered under the blow, but though his face blanched to the pallor of death with the an-



FAMILY WORSHIP IN THE HOME OF THE CLEVELANDS.

guish that was preying upon his heart, yet he nobly sought to control his own grief and to comfort the moaning and trembling girl at his side.



THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH AT HOLLAND PATENT.

After the funeral came that saddest of all partings, the breaking up of a family, that owing to the removal of its

support can no longer be held together. Who has not seen, and far too often, this cruel spectacle, and where oftener than in the families of country ministers? It is but a sad commentary upon the gratitude of our congregations, that to the blackness of the shadow of the death angel is added the thought ever present to the dying minister, that with his existence must terminate the tie that holds together his loved ones in that dearest of all bonds, the family circle.

From this time on we shall follow out the fortunes of but a single member of the family; that one that we have seen as the clerk at Fayetteville, the student at Clinton and everywhere the champion of justice and honor. Now that the head of the family is removed, will he still retain his old love of honesty and truth? Will his Spartan simplicity and faith and his Roman sense of duty continue as of yore? Of this there is no more doubt than that the needle will continue faithful to the pole, or that the glorious day will follow the darksome night.

Like the house of old, founded upon a rock, though the storms of adversity and temptation may burst in fury upon him, his character is too well and solidly founded to succumb to their influences. Misfortunes may overtake him, as they have the bravest and the best; calumny and enmity may seek to smirch with their unhallowed slime his fair unclouded fame, but dishonor and dishonesty can never reach him, panoplied as he is in the impenetrable armor of faith and truth.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE ROAD TO FORTUNE.

GROVER CLEVELAND'S NEXT EMPLOYMENT.—TEACHING THE BLIND.
 —IN SEARCH OF HIS FORTUNE.—A HARMLESS SUPERSTITION.
 —THE COURSE OF EMPIRE.—ACCOMPLISHING HIS DESTINY.
 —STOPS AT BUFFALO.—VISITS HIS UNCLE.—A PRACTICAL
 MAN —CLEVELAND'S DETERMINATION.—A SITUATION OFFERED
 AND ACCEPTED.—FIRST PRINCIPLES.—ROGERS, BOWEN & ROG-
 ER'S OFFICE BOY.—CATALOGUING CATTLE.—MUNIFICENT REC-
 OMPENSE.—"A FAIR FIELD AND NO FAVORS."—A DREARY
 WINTER.—CLEVELAND'S INDOMITABLE COURAGE.—A CON-
 TRASTED DESTINY.—SYBARITIC TASTES.—THE TWO COMBAT-
 ANTS.—A CHEERLESS CHAMBER.—SUFFERINGS AND DEPRIVA-
 TIONS.—THE USES OF ADVERSITY.—A RARE JEWEL.—POVER-
 TY'S CHILDREN.

Grover Cleveland's first employment, after the death of his father, was as an under teacher in an asylum for the blind in New York City. His duties here were irksome, but we suppose that the reader will not need to be informed that they were faithfully and ably performed. For two years the dreary routine was kept up, and then feeling his mission in life was not that of a tutor, he determined to set out in search of his fortune.

Possessed by a superstition from which none of us are entirely free, he thought that the city of Cleveland, from its name, would prove a place of good omen, and he turned his face toward the golden West, and following the guidance of the bright star of empire, he toiled steadily onward toward the self-appointed goal. His heart, like his pocket, was light, but a braver, more self-reliant one never beat in a human bosom, and in his lexicon the word fail had been omitted.

Hercules setting about his twelve labors was no more confident of a successful outcome, and the Argo's gallant sailors never more willingly, with anchor apeak and bellying sails, ventured out into the unknown ocean, than did this boy, whom destiny had marked for noble accomplishments. When he turned his back upon the great American Babel and launched himself on the unknown and untried billows of fortune's boisterous seas, it was with nothing of reluctance or regret.

On his way to Cleveland he stopped at Buffalo to see and counsel with a maternal uncle, Lewis F. Allan, noted throughout the country for the excellence of the cattle bred by him. The reception given by this relative was one that would have discouraged most youths, but Grover had met with too many buffets to be easily turned aside; in fact, his whole life, so far, had been but little else than one misfortune after another, but these adverse winds had never caused him to regret the safe harbors of the village store and the blind school.

"Well, my boy! what are your intentions; what do you intend to do for a living?" said Mr. Allan.

"I intend to be a lawyer," said the boy, "but of course I've got to find some office where I can get a chance to read."

"Thunder!" said the old farmer, "what put that into your head? When are you going to begin! At what place? And how much money have you got?"

Grover replied to this string of questions by saying that he had always intended to be a lawyer; that he would begin at the very first opportunity and place, and that he had no money.

"And yet you expect to read law?" queried Mr. Allan, after hearing his last statement as to his impecuniosity.



YOUNG CLEVELAND'S WINTER HOME NEAR BUFFALO.
OLD RESIDENCE OF LEWIS F. ALLAN.

“Expect to!” said Grover in reply, “I not only expect to, but I intend to.”

Seeing that, as he expressed it, there was “something in the boy,” Mr. Allan offered him a home and fifty dollars a year, if he would edit for him a voluminous stock book that he was then engaged in getting out. In the intervals of his labor, he could have a chance to look around and see about furthering his prospects by obtaining a place in some lawyer’s office.

Grover smiled to himself and thought of this return to first principles, but quickly accepted the position with its paltry compensation, since he determined that by its aid he would secure the place for which he longed, as clerk for some attorney.

Allan’s farm was two miles from the city of Buffalo, but in the midst of his labors, cataloguing short-horns and Jerseys and turning his hand to anything that offered, Grover often walked into the city, and on one of these trips succeeded in entering himself as office boy with the legal firm of Rogers, Bowen & Rogers. In return for his services in opening up and sweeping out the office, he was allowed the use of the library and the sum of four dollars weekly, out of which munificent salary he had to pay for his board and washing.

He still made his home with his uncle, and even had the latter been sufficiently generous to have refused pay for his nephew’s board, the student was possessed of too sturdy a sense of independence to have accepted it. “A fair field and no favors” seemed to have been his adopted motto, and certainly no one ever clung more tenaciously to his principles.

The first winter of his attendance to his office duties was



SHOCKING CORN AT MR. ALLAN'S.

one of the severest ever known, but back and forth on his rough journey he toiled with manly determination, never missing a single day and never being even a minute tardy. In the path of duty, whether marked out by himself or by others, his feet never faltered, and having once put his hand to the plough, he never looked back. With leaking shoes and without an overcoat, he braved the fierce storms and upheld by a determination and a courage as indomitable as a demi-god's, bade defiance to their wrath.

At about the same time, in another section of the country, a youth of the moneyed aristocracy, pampered and petted, was, under private tutors and in costly colleges, making a record for brilliancy and talent. To him the iron bondage of poverty was unknown. Shielded from the summer's heat and the winter's storm, the Midas touch of fortune procured for him not only the necessities of life, but its costliest luxuries.

Imbibing the tastes of the sybarite, and pandered to by well-paid attendants, is it to be wondered at that he lacks the firmness, the honor, the honesty and the simplicity that characterizes the combatant he must meet in the lists of American politics to do battle in November for the costliest and grandest gift that graces the footstool of the gracious Lord of the universe—the gift of the American Presidency, presented by the ballots of millions of freemen to one of themselves as a reward for services rendered and expected?

At night, often compelled to dry his wet clothing by hugging close to the chimney that passed through the little attic room in which he slept, his life at this period is an example of self-denial and perseverance rarely equalled and never excelled. It was a hard life for one so young, for youth is the season of joy and carelessness and pleasure,

but out of this stern hardness of fortune—whose barest recital would make a pathetic idyl—was born undying courage, unshrinking determination and a god-like rectitude of purpose, that have repaid him a thousand fold for his youthful sufferings and deprivations; that have given to him the respect and honor of his fellows, and that have raised him steadily to exalted positions of trust and usefulness.

Looking upon the career of Grover Cleveland, from his childhood to the present time, let none of us say that poverty has not its uses and that it is altogether ignoble.

“Sweet are the uses of adversity,
Which like the toad though ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head,”

sings the grandest master that ever laid the touch of a magician upon the chords of the hearts of humanity and sounded to their depths the wells of human knowledge, passion and feeling, and it is well for us that under the frightful outward aspect of cold and cruel poverty she conceals a glittering jewel of rarest worth, but all unknown and unattainable by any but her children.

CHAPTER IV.

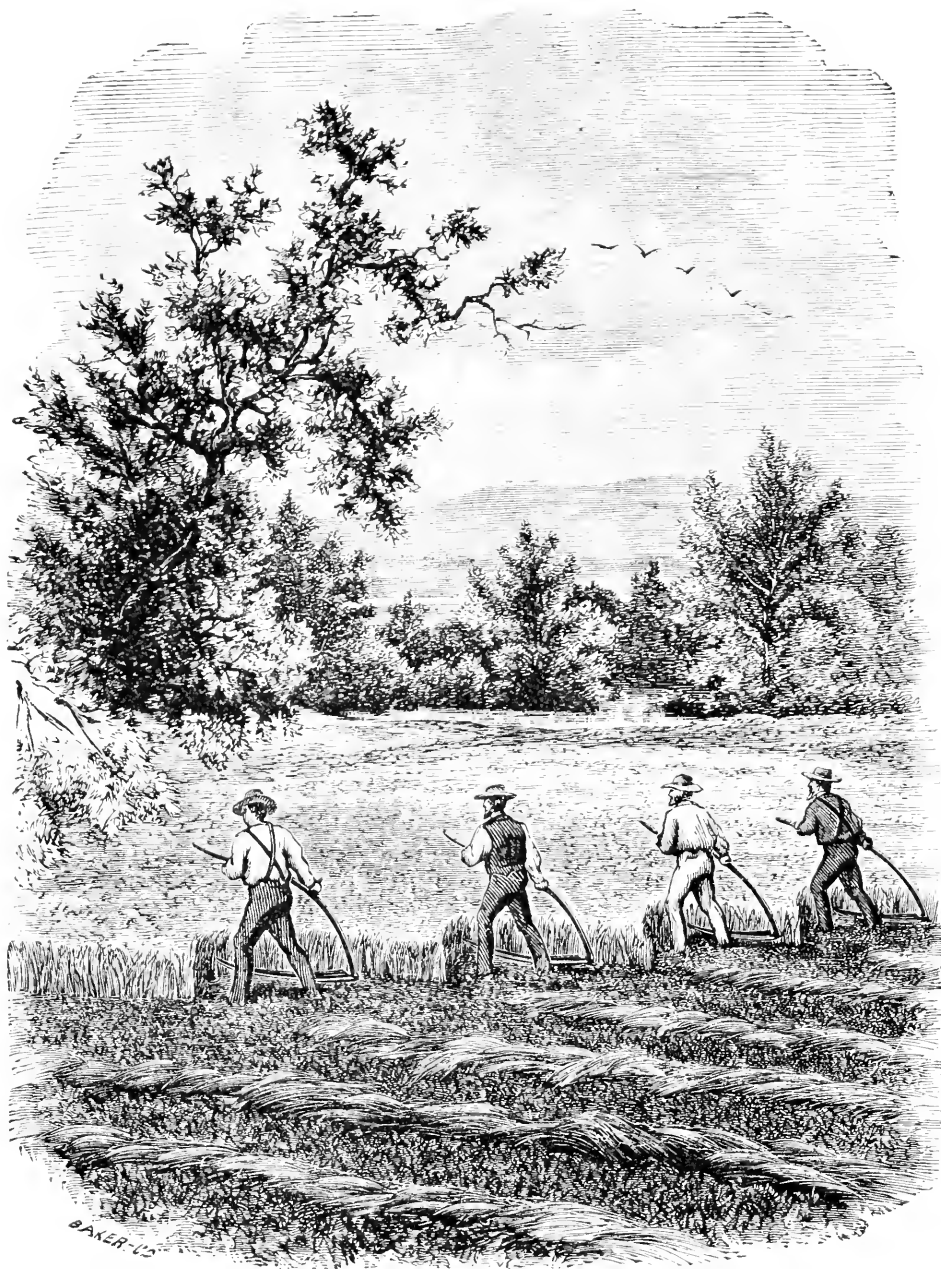
SUCCESSES AND REVERSES.

CLEVELAND'S ADAPTABILITY.—IN THE HARVEST FIELD.—A BOY THAT ALWAYS SUCCEEDED.—THE YOUNG STUDENT.—HOW TO BEGIN.—THE LAWYER'S GUIDE.—UNTIRING APPLICATION.—AN AWKWARD PREDICAMENT.—MAKING THE BEST OF IT.—A HARD ROAD TO TRAVEL.—A TIMELY PRESENT.—A HARD WINTER.—CLEVELAND'S FIRST HONOR.—A GENIAL JOKER.—CLEVELAND APPOINTED CHIEF CLERK.—A COMRADE'S TRIBUTE.—APPOINTED ASSISTANT DISTRICT ATTORNEY.—MAGNANIMOUS FRIENDS.—A WILLING WORKER.—AN INCOMPARABLE OFFICER.—NOMINATED FOR DISTRICT ATTORNEY.—A POOR POLITICIAN.—A SYMPATHETIC JUDGE.—DUTY FIRST, INTEREST AFTERWARD.—HOW HE ACCEPTED DEFEAT.—EQUAL TO EITHER FORTUNE.—A TRUE PHILOSOPHER.

Always accommodating, Grover helped his uncle out of many a close place when help was scarce or unattainable. With true American adaptability he could do anything he could see any one else do, and once when chaffed by Mr. Allan about his living on a farm and being unable to cradle wheat he said, "That's so, a man ought to know how to cut wheat, so I'll just go out and learn."

"Pshaw, boy!" said Mr. Allan jokingly, "it would take you years to learn how to cradle well enough to do a day's work."

"We'll see about that," said Grover coolly, and he started for the wheat field where the men were at work reaping and binding the golden grain. At first he was rather awkward in handling the cradle, but after a few instructions from an experienced reaper he swung along blithely, and without difficulty kept in the line with the other harvesters. Mr.



IN THE HARVEST FIELD

Allan, who had gone to the field expecting to witness Grover's failure, afterward told a neighbor that the boy would attempt anything and that he always succeeded.

The first morning that the youth appeared at the law office of Rogers, Brown & Rogers, he asked the senior member of the firm how he should begin the study of law. The old gentleman told him to sit down at a table, and then going to the library he took out a volume of Blackstone and slapping it down before the boy with a loud bang he said:

“That’s the lawyer’s law and gospel. That’s where they all begin. That’s the essence of all law, and it’s like the Bible, you can’t read it too long, too often, nor too attentively.”

With this gruff advice as to how to master the law’s mysteries, he marched off and Grover was soon deeply immersed in the writer, who could make even the dry and tedious rules of law an agreeable study.

As he did everything else so he studied law, thoroughly and conscientiously, and it is told by his fellow students that so intense was his application to his books, that one evening he was overlooked and locked up in the office while immersed in his studies. When he ascertained the predicament into which Blackstone had led him, he made the best of the situation, and instead of vain attempts at securing his release, or vague repinings, he buckled to his book with renewed vigor and spent the night in study.

Black Rock was the name of his uncle’s farm, and one night when he had trudged through snow and sleet over the rough and jagged winter roads from Buffalo to the farm, he found his uncle standing at the gate and evidently in the humor for a little good humored badinage.

“Not tired of the law yet?” he asked Grover, as the latter panted up to the gate, “it seems to me it’s like Jordan, a hard road to travel.”

“It may be, sir!” said Grover, “but I’m going to follow it to the end, if I only last to get there.”

“I believe you will, boy!” said the old farmer kindly, “if anybody will, I believe you will.”

“But,” he said, giving the conversation a new turn, “ain’t it rather cold travelling for you without an overcoat? It seems to me its rather wintry to-day.”

“Oh, the cold’s nothing to speak of,” said Grover, “and besides I’m going to get some copying to do soon and then I’ll buy me one.”

“And your feet,” said Mr. Allan, “why they must be soaking wet, ain’t they?”

“Oh that’s nothing,” replied the youth, “I’ll get a pair of boots too, when I get the copying.”

“That may be all right, but you go to-morrow to my tailor and get a good heavy overcoat without waiting for the copying,” said farmer Allan, whose generosity was moved by the boy’s magnificent fight against adversity.

This little incident must have caused the worthy stockman to notice his nephew more closely, for it was not long afterward that in compiling a second “Herd Book” he announced to Grover that he intended to reward him for the effective assistance he had rendered by a public recognition, in the book, of the valuable services of Grover Cleveland. With the hearty good humor inseparable from the man, Governor Cleveland often tells of this, the first public honor ever paid to him.

For four years Grover not only *read* but ardently *studied* law in the office in which he had first entered as office boy,

and then he was appointed to the responsible position of head clerk. This appointment did not result from any favoritism, but from indisputable merit, as his fellow clerks were generous enough to admit. The following tribute from one of his companions at that time shows how he impressed those with whom he came in daily contact.

“Grover won our admiration by his three traits of indomitable industry, unpretentious courage and unswerving honesty. I never saw a more thorough man at anything he undertook. Whatever the subject was, he was reticent until he had mastered all its bearings and made up his own mind—and then nothing could swerve him from his conviction. It was this quality of intellectual integrity more than anything else, perhaps, that made him afterwards listened to and respected when more brilliant men who were opposed to him were applauded and forgotten.”

Four years more passed in this monotonous manner, and the year 1863 came around. It brought with it a question as to which of the young attorneys in Rogers & Bowen's offices should be appointed Assistant District Attorney for Erie county. Each one of the young men realized that the acquisition of this position would be a most important one, and each used every endeavor to secure it. We say each one, but this statement must be qualified, for Grover Cleveland neither asked nor worked for the appointment. As in after-life he did not seek the office, but let it seek him.

A thorough canvass of the question amongst the clerks satisfied one and all that of right the appointment belonged to Cleveland, and with a magnanimity deserving of the utmost praise, each subordinated his own claim to the office and advocated that of Cleveland. It is needless to say that he obtained the position, and thus was Grover Cleveland

first ushered into public life. Luckily for the assistant attorney, his principal was disposed to ease off his burdens on to the shoulders of his younger coadjutor, and the young lawyer not only saw a great deal of miscellaneous practice, but also gained a vast experience and insight into human character and the affairs of life.

Pursuing his duties with a zeal characteristic of the man, Cleveland made a magnificent officer—the best that Erie county had ever had. His whole time and attention was devoted to the county business, and when he was drafted for service in the army, his absence would have proved an irreparable injury to the cause of justice, and it was pronounced by all that it was his duty to stay and attend to what no other man could, and he promptly furnished a substitute.

In 1865, so well had he filled the post to which he had been appointed, that the Democrats nominated him for the District-Attorneyship. The nomination was not sought by him any more than his appointment had been, and in fact he suggested to the politicians of his party that there were others who might make a more successful race, and who would certainly make a more energetic canvass than he would be able to do.

In spite of all this he received the nomination, and as he had told the leaders of his party, he was too occupied by numerous important cases in the courts to give his time to electioneering amongst the voters. On the very day of the election he was trying a case in court, when the judge, remembering the interests Cleveland had at stake, adjourned the court and told him to go out and attend to his canvass. His attention came too late, and Lyman K. Bass, the Republican candidate, was elected.

Accepting his defeat with the utmost cheerfulness, young Cleveland proved his superiority over the mere accident of success, and well merits Hamlet's encomium on his friend Horatio, for he was truly

"Equal to either fortune."

Success never unduly elated him, nor did reverses cast him down or impair the fine temper of his disposition. Like a true philosopher, such a man is freed

"Of hope to rise, or fear to fall,
Lord of himself, if not of lands,
And having nothing yet hath all."

CHAPTER V.

OFFICIAL LIFE IN BUFFALO.

CLEVELAND'S LAW PARTNERS.—NOMINATED FOR SHERIFF OF ERIE COUNTY.—A WINNING RACE.—A NON-PARTISAN ADMINISTRATION.—AN ERA OF REFORM.—A NEW FIRM.—CLEVELAND'S LAW AND POLITICS.—A BROAD-GUAGE MAN.—UNIVERSALLY POPULAR.—BUFFALO IN THE TOILS OF THE RINGS.—SEEKING A SAVIOR.—CLEVELAND NOMINATED FOR MAYOR.—A POLITICAL TIDAL WAVE.—AN UNPRECEDENTED MAJORITY.—POLITICAL THUNDER STORMS.—PURITY IN POLITICS.—CLEVELAND'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.—THE PEOPLE'S TRUSTEES.—VERY OLD TRUTHS.—SINCERE PROMISES.—CLEVELAND'S PLEDGES.—TRUE DEMOCRATIC DOCTRINES.—A GRAND OLD PARTY.—SUCCESS OF THE REPUBLIC.

In 1866 Cleveland formed a partnership with the late I. K. Vanderpool, and this partnership continued until 1869, the firm doing a large business. His next partners were A. P. Laning and Oscar Folsom both now deceased. This last partnership continued for only two years, being then dissolved by the election of Cleveland to the office of Sheriff of Erie county. The nomination for this office was another unsought expression of popular esteem, which his administration fully justified.

His term was distinguished by the most exact justice and an utter disregard of partisan interests. It was as conscientious and as thorough as had been his discharge of every other trust, and unconsciously Cleveland was making history as a reformer. Packed juries and straw bail were unknown in the courts while he was sheriff, and of Erie county

at that time the wily old cardinal would have realized his pet dream,

“For justice all place a temple
And all season summer.”

When his term as Sheriff came to an end he associated himself with Wilson S. Bissell and Lyman K. Bass, his former opponent for the office of District Attorney. This firm was able and successful, but the health of Mr. Bass eventually became so delicate that he was forced to withdraw and go to Colorado, and thus the firm became known as Cleveland and Bissell until 1881, when George J. Sicard was admitted as a member of the firm, which then became known as Cleveland, Bissell and Sicard.

Too thoroughly honest to be a finished electioneering politician, Cleveland was too thorough a lawyer to descend to the chicanery of the petifogger, but his methods were all those of the honest and conscientious attorney, who might lose a case on its merits, but who could not stoop to anything low and mean to gain one. This honesty rendered him universally popular and respected, and while all of the lawyers at the Buffalo bar feared him as a shrewd and able opponent, yet all esteemed him as the soul of honesty and honor.

In 1881, the city of Buffalo, writhing under the oppression and corruption of the municipal rings that had fastened upon her and were fast driving her to ruin, sought out a man whose probity and fidelity should be no uncertain quantities, and the nomination for Mayor was tendered to Grover Cleveland. Hopeless of aid from their own party, all of the Republicans, who had anything at stake, joined the forces of the Democracy and placed the sterling Democratic reformer at the head of municipal affairs.

His majority was unprecedented; he was carried into office by one of those political tidal waves that now and then rise against fraud and corruption and dash them headlong from the high places which they infest. It is such magnificent outbursts of popular indignation as these that tend to restore confidence in the sovereignty of the people, and that prove to the cynic and the doubter that the voice of the people is truly the voice of God. These are the political cyclones and thunder storms that purify the atmosphere of the body politic.

It had become understood in Erie county, and was soon to be made known to the whole country, that whatever office Grover Cleveland might fill, would be administered with all the faithfulness, truth and honesty that the vested priest at the altar gives to his worship. The slimy hands of fraud and felonious ringsters felt that with him at the helm they must relinquish their grasp on the throat of the municipality and make way for a new order of affairs.

His letter of acceptance—in which there is not a single word of the buncombe and clap-trap that usually distinguish such documents—shows, better than anything else can, the views of this true Democrat. We give it here in full:

“GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:—I am informed that you have bestowed upon me the nomination for the office of Mayor. It certainly is a great honor to be thought fit to be the chief officer of a great and properous city like ours, having such important and varied interests. I hoped that your choice might fall upon some other and more worthy member of the city Democracy, for personal and private considerations have made the question of acceptance on my part a difficult one. But because I am a Democrat, and because I think no one has a right at this time of all others to consult his own inclinations as against the call of his party and fellow-citizens, and hoping that I may be of use to you in

your efforts to inaugurate a better rule in municipal affairs, I accept the nomination tendered to me. I believe much can be done to relieve our citizens from their present load of taxation, and that a more rigid scrutiny of all public expenditures will result in a great saving to the community. I also believe that some extravagances in our city government may be corrected without injury to the public service. There is, or there should be, no reason why the affairs of our city should not be managed with the same care and the same economy as private interests. And when we consider that public officials are the trustees of the people, and hold their places and exercise their powers for the benefit of the people, there should be no higher inducement to a faithful and honest discharge of public duty.

“These are very old truths; but I cannot forbear to speak in this strain to-day, because I believe the time has come when the people loudly demand that these principles shall be sincerely, and without mental reservation, adopted as a rule of conduct. And I am assured that the result of the campaign upon which we enter to-day will demonstrate that the citizens of Buffalo will not tolerate the man or the party who has been unfaithful to public trusts. I say these things to a convention of Democrats because I know that the grand old party is honest, and they cannot be unwelcome to you. Let us then in all sincerity promise the people an improvement in our municipal affairs; and if the opportunity is offered to us, as it surely will be, let us faithfully keep that promise. By this means, and by this means alone, can our success rest upon a firm foundation and our party ascendancy be permanently assured. Our opponents will wage a bitter and determined warfare, but with united and hearty effort we shall achieve a victory for our entire ticket. And at this day, and with my record before you, I trust it is unnecessary for me to pledge to you my most earnest endeavors to bring about this result; and if elected to the position for which you have nominated me, I shall do my whole duty to the party, but none the less, I hope to the citizens of Buffalo.”

The modesty, determination and incorruptible integrity of the man speak out in every word and line of this letter, which for simplicity, clearness and honesty types truly the undying Democratic doctrines that have so far preserved the Republic from anarchy and the people from tyranny. As long as such leaders are developed by the grand old party we need never despair of the success of Republican government, nor of the onward progress of the brave old ship of state.

CHAPTER VI.

A MAN THAT MEASURES UP.

AN ECCENTRIC OLD PREACHER.—HYPOCRITES DENOUNCED.—THE UNJUST JUDGE.—PARTIALITY AND BRIBERY.—JUSTICE DEFEATED.—WILL HE MEASURE UP?—A ROGUISH MERCHANT.—SANDED SUGAR.—SHORT YARDS.—TAXES AND CONTRIBUTIONS.—QUALITY OF HIS HONESTY.—AN ALLEGED CHRISTIAN.—HIS PERCENTAGE PRAYER.—NOTES AND MORTGAGES.—SIXTY POUNDS TO THE BUSHEL.—MORE SHORT MEASURE.—THE FINAL WEIGHING.—THE SUBJECT EXHAUSTED.—WHO WILL MEASURE UP.—THE HONEST MAN DESCRIBED.—CLEVELAND'S REFORM RULE.—RING DEVIL—FISH DEFIED.—AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE.—DUTIES OF THE CITIZEN DEFINED.—GOOD READING FOR ALL.

In the early days of Kentucky there was an eccentric old Methodist preacher, named Jemmy Taylor, noted for his epigrammatic sayings which teemed with wit and good sense. In a sermon at the Bear Grass camp-ground near Louisville he delivered a telling sermon on the "Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites," which was ever after known and remembered as the "measuring up sermon." It was full of trenchant strokes at those who pretended to qualities and virtues which they should possess, but did not.

In speaking of the judge placed upon the bench to do equal and even justice between the opposing sides, he pictured the infamies that, in the name of god-like impartiality, were too often perpetrated. He showed him seated in all his dignity, with the pleading counsellors and anxious clients before him, and in one hand the

"Scales wherein law weigheth equity down,"

while in the other lay the unhallowed bribe that had caused

him to pre-judge the case, pervert his high office and soil the very majesty of the law itself.

“This man,” he said, “this unjust judge, claims to be full weight, one hundred cents to the dollar and sixty pounds to the bushel of truth and honesty, but will he measure up, my friends, will he measure up?”

He then spoke of the merchant sanding his sugar in the



OLD JEMMY TAYLOR.

silent watches of the night and tearing off thirty-four inches to the yard of cottons, calicoes and silks.

“This man,” said the fearless old cynic, “pays his taxes because he has to, and his church contributions because it is popular. He won’t pick your pocket, forge a check nor stop a man upon the highway, for these operations require more of nerve and animal courage than he possesses, but

for all of that, do you think his honesty is heaped up and overflowing as it should be; in other words, do you think it will measure up?"

"And there, too, is the Christian," he continued, "who behind his prayer-book figures up his notes and mortgages, and exacts usurious interest from his brother. The prayer of such a man is not that his Heavenly Father shall give him this day his daily bread, but that He shall give him



ONE WHO WILL "MEASURE UP."

this year one hundred per cent. This man meets his indebtedness promptly, supports his family and gives of his gains a pittance to the church and the heathen, but what do you think of his Christianity, my friends; do you believe that it will, in the last great day, upon the unerring scales of the Ancient of Days measure up to the requirements of his Master? Is it full, just and true—will it measure up?"

In this manner he went on until he had pretty thoroughly exhausted his subject, and then he painted a glowing word

picture of the man, brave, noble, simple, true and honest; the man that in all of the requirements of life did measure up. Such a man is Stephen Grover Cleveland, who in every position to which the voice and votes of the people have lifted him has measured up to the occasion.

Elected Mayor of Buffalo to reform the abuses of the municipality, he set about his task and made a clean sweep of the Augean stables of thievery and corruption. The rings had the city by the throat and they held on with the



THE MAN WHO WILL NOT "MEASURE UP."

tenacity of their prototype, the sea octopus or devil-fish, but one by one he broke loose their grasp and drove them from their prey. He was one of those who knew his duty,

"And knowing dared maintain."

His address on the occasion of the semi-centennial celebration of the city of Buffalo, July 3, 1882, gives in a practical and not unpoetical manner his ideas of the duty that the citizen owes to his government whether State, county,

municipal, or national. We here re-produce the address in full, and every honest man will find it good and wholesome reading, which, in addition to its good sense, possesses the merit of patriotism, simplicity and brevity:

“LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I ought, perhaps, to be quite content on this occasion to assume the part of quiet gratification. But I cannot forbear expressing my satisfaction at being allowed to participate in the exercises of the evening, and I feel that I must give token of the pleasure I experienced in gazing with you upon the fair face of our queen city at the age of fifty. I am proud with you in contrasting what seems to us the small things of fifty years ago, with the beauty and the greatness and the importance of to-day. The achievements of the past are gained; the prosperity of the present we hold with a firm hand; and the promise of the future comes to us with no uncertain sound. It seems to me to-day, that of all men, the resident of Buffalo should be the proudest to name his home.

In the history of a city, fifty years but marks the period of youth, when all is fresh and joyous. The face is fair, the step is light, and the burden of life is carried with a song; the future stretching far ahead is full of bright anticipation, and the past, with whatever of struggle and disappointment there may have been, seems short and is half forgotten. In this hey-day of our city's life, we do well to exchange our congratulations, and to revel together in the assurances of the happy and prosperous future that awaits us.

And yet I do not deem it wrong to remind myself and you, that our city, great in its youth, did not suddenly spring into existence, clad in beauty and in strength. There were men fifty years ago, who laid its foundations broad and deep; and who, with the care of jealous parents,

tended it and watched its growth. Those early times were not without their trials and discouragements; and we reap to-day the fruit of the labors and the perseverance of those pioneers. Those were the fathers of the city. Where are they? Fifty years added to manhood fills the cup of human life. Most have gone to swell the census of God's city, which lies beyond the stream of fate. A few there are who listlessly linger upon the bank, and wait to cross in the shade of the trees they have planted with their own hands. Let us tenderly remember the dead to-night; and let us renew our love and veneration for those who are spared to speak to us of the scenes attending our city's birth and infancy.

And in this our day of pride and self-gratification there is, I think, one lesson at least, which we may learn from the men who have come down to us from a former generation. In the day of the infancy of the city which they founded, and for many years afterwards, the people loved their city so well that they would only trust the management of its affairs in the strongest and best of hands; and no man in those days was so engrossed in his own business but he could find some time to devote to public concerns. Read the names of the men who held places in this municipality fifty years ago, and food for reflection will be found. Is it true that the city of to-day, with its large population, and with its vast and varied interests, needs less and different care than it did fifty years ago?

We boast of our citizenship to-night. But this citizenship brings with it duties not unlike those we owe our neighbor and our God. There is no better time than this for self-examination. He who deems himself too pure and holy to take part in the affairs of his city, will meet the fact

that better men than he have thought it their duty to do so. He who cannot spare a moment in his greed and selfishness to devote to public concerns, will perhaps find a well-grounded fear that he may become the prey of public plunderers; and he who indolently cares not who administers the government of his city, will find that he is living falsely and in the neglect of his highest duty.

When our centennial shall be celebrated, what will be said of us? I hope it may be said that we built and wrought well, and added much to the substantial prosperity of the city we had in charge. Brick and mortar may make a large city; but the encouragement of those things which elevate and purify; the exaction of the highest standard of integrity in official place, and a constant, active interest on the part of the good people in municipal government, are needed to make a great city.

Let it be said of us when only our names and memory are left, in the centennial time, that we faithfully administered the trust which we received from our fathers, and religiously performed our parts in our day and generation, toward making our city not only prosperous, but truly great."

CHAPTER VII.

THE PEOPLE'S CANDIDATE.

A COMMON SENSE VIEW OF MATTERS.—HOW GOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS SHOULD BE ADMINISTERED.—GOOD BUSINESS METHODS.—WHAT TO AVOID.—CLEVELAND'S INAUGURAL MESSAGE.—TRUSTEES FOR THE PEOPLE.—INDIVIDUAL HONESTY.—A SACRED TRUST.—THE VALUE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS.—A LARGE MAJORITY.—ADDITIONAL POWERS.—DESPAIRING CITIZENS.—A PREPONDERANCE OF POWER.—THEFT AND CORRUPTION.—UNHOLY AIMS AND AMBITIONS.—PUBLIC SENTIMENT DEFIED.—THE OLD MAN OF THE SEA.—AN UNHAPPY COUNTRY.—A BEACON OF SAFETY.—PROFITABLE READING MATTER.—THE COURSE OF DECENT REPUBLICANS.—RESOLUTIONS OF A BROOKLYN CLUB.—BUT A STEP FROM DEMOCRACY.—HOSTILE CRITICISM DEFIED.—GROVER CLEVELAND TO THE FRONT.

Cleveland, in his dealings with the affairs—State, county and municipal—with which he has been entrusted, has always taken a common sense and safe view of the matter. He has endeavored, as nearly as possible, to apply to them the rules and principles which should and do govern a good business man in the management of his own private concerns. Certainly no more honest method could be adopted, for in conducting his individual business affairs, every good business man will, as far as it is in his power, avoid all waste and extravagance.

As Cleveland expressed it in his inaugural message to the Common Council of Buffalo:

“We who are elected to offices of trust and honor, hold the money of the people in our hands, to be used for their purposes and to further their interests as members of the municipality; and it is quite apparent that

when any part of the funds which the taxpayers have thus entrusted us, are diverted to other purposes, or when, by design or neglect, we allow a greater sum to be applied to any municipal purpose than is necessary, we have to that extent, violated our duty. There surely is no difference in his duties and obligations, whether a person is entrusted with the money of one man or many. And yet it sometimes appears as though the office-holder assumes that a different rule of fidelity prevails between him and the taxpayer than that which should regulate his conduct when, as an individual, he holds the money of his neighbor.

It seems to me that a successful and faithful administration of the government of our city may be accomplished by constantly bearing in mind that we are the trustees and agents of our fellow-citizens, holding their funds in sacred trust, to be expended for their benefit; that we should at all times be prepared to render an honest account of them, touching the manner of their expenditure; and that the affairs of the city should be conducted, as far as possible, upon the same principles as a good business man manages his private concerns.

And I, perhaps, should do no less than to assure your honorable body that so far as it is in my power I shall be glad to co-operate with you in securing the faithful performance of official duty in every department of the city government.

* * * Our public schools are matters of such vital public concern and so intimately connected with good citizenship, that I recommend all necessary measures to be taken to promote their usefulness and efficiency."

Some may say that these are very fair doctrines and very specious promises, but did the man "measure up" to them?

For answer to this question, we will refer all doubters to a majority of nearly two hundred thousand citizens of his State, who, upon his record as District Attorney, Sheriff and Mayor, placed him in the Gubernatorial Chair to carry out, on a larger scale, his measures of reform.

When Cleveland was made chief of the city government of Buffalo, it was at a time when honest citizens were beginning to have grave doubts as to the possibility of securing an honest administration of affairs, municipal or national. The Republican party had for a quarter of a century held the reins of government and the preponderance of political power, and secure in its undisturbed sway, it was festering in the foulest corruption. Its principle gone when the freedom of the slave was accomplished, its honest men had deserted it, and it became a band of political desperadoes and outlaws, whose sole ambition was office and whose sole aim was plunder.

Time and again had efforts at reform been made, and time and again had these been defeated. Rioting in robbery, the Radical thieves defied public sentiment, and holding their positions by theft and bribery, outraged all patriotism and decency. Like the Old Man of the Sea upon the neck of the luckless Sinbad, they seemed immovably fixed in their places, and honest, patriotic citizens began to despair of the fate of the country, which had become the shame of Americans and the jeer of all other nationalities.

In this strait the citizens of the Empire State had their attention drawn to the reform Mayor of Buffalo, as the eyes of the nation had a few years before been attracted by Tilden, the reform Governor. His messages became popular reading matter and extracts from them were quoted

not only by the Democratic papers, but by the ablest and best of the Republican journals. The unblushing thefts and downright forgeries of the Republican leaders were fully exposed, and the honest Republicans either held aloof from the polls or gave their votes to a man they knew to be honest, and therefore safe.

To show how disgusted honorable men of all parties had become with the methods of the Republican machine, we give the following resolutions adopted by the Brooklyn Young Republican Club, an organization distinguished for its respectability and influence:

“*Resolved*, That the Brooklyn Young Republican Club, true to the principles of its constitution and to the high standard which has governed its actions in the past,

1. Approves and endorses the manly and patriotic conduct of Seth Low in refusing to use his official position and power, as Mayor of the City of Brooklyn, for partisan ends.

2. Denounces and condemns the interference of the Federal administration with the free action of the people of this State in the selection of candidates for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, and declares its loyalty to the principle of home rule as well for the State in matters local to the State, as for the city in matters local to the city.

3. Denounces and condemns the political methods and practices by which the recent Republican nominations for Governor and Lieutenant-Governor were secured as disgraceful to the party and to the country.

4. Declares that nominations obtained by such methods are entitled to no respect, and impose no party obligations upon Republicans to support them; but it cordially approves and heartily indorses the nominations of the Hon. Charles Andrews for Chief Judge of the Court of Appeals,

and of the Hon. A. B. Hepburn for Congressman at Large, and the Brooklyn Young Republican Club hereby pledges them its most earnest and active support.

5. That the equivocal political platitude in the Republican platform to the effect that 'The practice of appealing



ONE WHO DON'T BELIEVE IN REFORM.

to the Legislature to override the action of the local authorities when confining themselves within the powers conferred upon them, should be discouraged both by the Legislature and the Governor, and should be resorted to only in extreme cases,' is in no sense a satisfactory expression of the views of this club upon the vital question of home rule.

6. Expresses the hope that other Republican organizations throughout the State, already in existence and soon to be formed, which approve the foregoing views, will publicly announce their position and condemn practices which, if permitted to be successful, will destroy either the Republican party or the manhood of its members, and the Brooklyn Young Republican Club hereby invites correspondence with such organizations.”

There is the ring of Democracy in these resolutions, and their advocates made but a short step, and one in the right direction, when they gave their ballots to such a man as Grover Cleveland. They had watched his course as Mayor of Buffalo, as Sheriff of Erie county and as its Assistant District-Attorney; they had noted his action in his contest with the thieving rings; they had seen that even the most corrupt and prejudiced of their partisan papers had been unable to find anything in his administrations upon which to base hostile criticism—in a word, great things had been expected of him as an executive and a reformer, and he had “measured up.”

CHAPTER VIII.

“WELL DONE THOU GOOD AND FAITHFUL SERVANT.”

CLEANSING THE AUGEAN STABLES.—HERCULEAN LABORS PERFORMED.—JUDGE FOLGER BEATEN.—DEFECTION FROM REPUBLICAN RANKS.—PARTISANS BUT HONEST MEN.—FEARLESS JOURNALS.—DESPERATE GAMESTERS.—TRICKY TACTICS.—JAY GOULD'S CANDIDATE.—THE JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION.—A HEAVY BURDEN.—A CANDID ENEMY.—WHAT CLEVELAND EFFECTED.—THE CHILD OF REFORM.—REVIEWING THE SITUATION.—A RAILROAD JOB.—MISAPPROPRIATING FUNDS.—CITY GOVERNMENT A BUSINESS.—A STREET CLEANING CONTRACT.—SCATHING SATIRE.—BLUNT ACCUSATION.—CORRUPT COUNCILMEN REBUKED.

If Cleveland could cleanse the Augean stables of the city of Buffalo, all felt that he was fit to undertake the heavier contract of ridding the State of its leeches and ringsters that fattened, at the expense of the tax payers and laborers, upon the body politic. The Democracy, ever ready to reward the good and rebuke the evil servant, had carefully watched the actions of Cleveland in his various official trusts and when it had determined, in 1882, to enter the list against Republican abuses, he was the man chosen to lead its hosts to victory.

This he did, as he did everything else, thoroughly and well, and as the opponent of Judge Folger, the Republican candidate, he carried the State by the largest majority ever given to an aspirant for gubernatorial honors. It is but a just tribute to the honest minority of the New York Republicans to state that, tired of corruption of their own party and determined neither to aid in its nefarious schemes, nor to follow in the lead of its unprincipled, machine-made and

plunder-inspired chieftains, they deserted almost in a body to the camp of the enemy and contributed to the magnificence of the Democratic victory.

The New York Times, ever fearless, able and independent, lashed unsparingly the methods of the New York Republi-



THE "MACHINE" POLITICIAN.

cans, of the administration wing of whom it said they enlisted in their work a set of men to whom trickery and deceit were familiar weapons, and who felt that they had everything at stake. They resorted to the meanest tactics to which they had become accustomed in their feats of local

managment. After using their utmost efforts to secure delegates to the convention, who were not the choice of the voters, they found it necessary, in order to effect their purpose, to carry the methods which had been found safe in the comparative obscurity of caucus manipulation into the counsels of the State Committee and the convention itself. Having staked everything in the hazardous game they were playing, they resorted to the desperate devices of blacklegs in order to win.

Speaking of Folger's nomination it said:

"Jay Gould has triumphed at Saratoga, let the facts be distorted ever so ingeniously."

Harper's Weekly—the so-called journal of civilization—was mournfully forced to admit that the Republican party had sadly degenerated and it withheld its powerful support.

The New York Herald could not carry the dead weight of the candidate of the "Federal administration machine," as it called Folger.

The New York Tribune and other Republican papers, ably edited and carrying great weight and influence found the infamies of the Republican methods too onerous a burden to carry, and they either loudly denounced, or by their moody silence condemned their party candidate. A Republican journal, *The Buffalo Express*, had the candor and honesty to say of the Democratic nominee:

"The most promising and prominent of the possible candidates for Governor of New York, on the Democratic side, is a man who, this time last year, had hardly been thought of as a candidate for Mayor of Buffalo. It was with the utmost difficulty that he could be persuaded to accept that nomination. He didn't want the office. Only at a great sacrifice of professional income and personal comfort could

he discharge its duties. But, after much importunity, with extreme genuine reluctance, he at length yielded his own preference and allowed his friends to nominate him. He was elected by a majority of 3,530—the largest majority ever given to any candidate for that office—though running on the Democratic ticket, and in a city which at the same time gave a majority of 1,624 for the Republican State ticket. And his administration of the office has fully justified the partiality of the friends who insisted on nominating him, and vindicated the good judgment of the people who so powerfully insisted on electing him. It is not too much to say that in the first half of his first year he has almost revolutionized our municipal government. *With no more power than his predecessors had, he has inaugurated reforms heretofore only hoped for, and corrected abuses which had become almost venerable.* Accounts against the city are now thoroughly audited, since he pointed out what is required of an officer whose duty it is to audit. The wholesome rule of competition has been adopted for important work hitherto given out in the form of political patronage. *So far as one man can, he sees to it that the city gets the full value of its money.* He knows his power and is not afraid to use it. *He has conquered the most corrupt combination ever formed in the Council, and rebuked the conspirators in terms that brought the blush of shame to the cheekiest of Aldermen. His veto messages have become municipal classics.* Knowing his duty, he has faithfully performed it, with what benefit to the public can hardly be over-estimated.

And with what personal gain? Nothing but honor—but that to a surprising degree. The universal chorus of praise from his fellow-citizens has sounded all over the

State, and suddenly the name of Grover Cleveland is heard everywhere as the coming Democratic candidate for Governor of New York, because he is the most independent man that ever served as Mayor of Buffalo. *And not one jot or tittle of this extraordinary popularity is due to self-seeking.* Probably no one was more surprised than Mr. Cleveland when what is called the 'boom' in his behalf first struck him. He could hardly believe it serious, but ere this he must have learned that his friends are terribly in earnest."

It was a sorry day for the ringsters and corruptionists when the goddess of reform placed the child of her adoption in the mayoralty of Buffalo, especially since it led to higher and nobler, but no more honestly administered gifts. But before we bid a final adieu to his connection with this municipality as its chief officer, let us look at some of his measures tending to abolish ring abuses. In the expression of his utter contempt for jobs of all kinds, we find the healthy sarcasm of the man giving way to an honest bluntness of expression that must have made the scoundrels cringe with shame and fear.

On one occasion the Common Council had voted to seize, as for public streets, certain lands in the city, the intention being that these lands should be turned over to the use of certain railroads. The resolution was vetoed by Mayor Cleveland. "The right vested in the city to take these lands," he said, "should not be made the pretext for divesting private right for other than city purposes. If compensation is to be made to any parties for their interest in the lands taken, it will have to be paid, together with all the cost of the proceedings, by the city. I do not see why the

city should be put to this expense, without receiving any corresponding benefits."

On another occasion the Common Council had voted to give \$500 to the Firemen's Benevolent Association, and also to give \$500 to defray the expenses of a proper observance of Decoration Day. Both of these appropriations were vetoed by Mayor Cleveland; the first on the ground that it was contrary to the Constitution of the State, and the second not only for that reason, but also because it violated the charter of the city, which makes it a misdemeanor to appropriate money raised for one purpose to any other purpose. "I think," he said, "the money raised for the celebration of the Fourth of July cannot be devoted to the observance of Decoration Day. I deem the object of this appropriation," he continued, "a most worthy one. The efforts of our veteran soldiers to keep alive the memory of their fallen comrades certainly deserve the aid and encouragement of their fellow-citizens. We should all, I think, feel it a duty and a privilege to contribute to the funds necessary to carry out such a purpose. But the money so contributed should be a free gift of the citizens and tax-payers, and should not be exacted from them by taxation. This is so because the purpose for which this money is asked does not involve their protection or interests as members of the community; and it may or may not be approved by them. The people are forced to pay taxes into the city treasury, only upon the theory that such money should be expended for public purposes in which they all have a direct and practical interest. The logic of this position leads directly to the conclusion that if the people are forced to pay their money into the public funds, and it is expended by their servants and agents for purposes in which the people as tax-payers

have no interest, the exaction of such taxes from them is oppressive and unjust. I cannot rid myself of the idea that this city government, in its relations to the taxpayers, is a business establishment, and it is put in our hands to be conducted on business principles. This theory does not admit of our donating the public funds in the manner contemplated by the action of your honorable body.”

On another occasion the Common Council had passed a resolution awarding a contract for cleaning the streets for five years to a party who had bid for it \$422,500. This resolution Mayor Cleveland vetoed in language worthy of being long remembered. “The bid thus accepted,” he said, “is more than \$100,000 higher than that of another perfectly responsible party for the same work; and a worse and more suspicious feature in this transaction is that the bid now accepted is \$50,000 more than that made by the bidder himself within a very few weeks, openly and publicly, to your honorable body for performing precisely the same service. This latter circumstance is, to my mind, the manifestation, on the part of the contractor, of a reliance upon the forbearance and generosity of your honorable body, which would be more creditable if it were less expensive to the tax-payers. I am not aware that any excuse is offered for the acceptance of this proposal, thus increased, except the very flimsy one that the lower bidders could not afford to do the work for the sums they named. This extreme tenderness and care for those who desire to contract with the city, and this touching and paternal solicitude lest they should be improvidently led into a bad bargain, is, I am sure, an exception to general business rules, and seems to have no place in this selfish and sordid world, except as found in the administration of municipal affairs.”

“This is a time,” continued the Mayor in the same message, “for plain speech, and my objection to the action now under consideration shall be plainly stated. I withhold my assent for the same *because I regard it as the culmination of a most barefaced, impudent, and shameless scheme to betray the interests of the people, and to worse than squander the public money.* I will not be misunderstood in this matter. There are those whose votes were given to this resolution whom I cannot and will not suspect of a wilful neglect of the interests they are sworn to protect; but it has been fully demonstrated that there are influences both in and about your honorable body which it behooves every honest man to watch and avoid with the greatest care. When cool judgment rules the hour the public will, I hope and believe, have no reason to complain of the action of your honorable body, but clumsy appeals to prejudice or passion, and insinuations, with a kind of low, cheap cunning, as to the motives and purposes of others, and the mock heroism of brazen effrontery which openly declares that a wholesome public sentiment is to be set at naught, sometimes deceive and lead honest men to aid in the consummation of schemes which, if exposed, they would look upon with abhorrence. We are fast gaining positions in the grade of public stewardship. There is no middle ground. *Those who are not for the people, either in or out of your honorable body, are against them, and should be treated accordingly.*”

We wish the utterances which we have now quoted might be read and pondered by every citizen of the Union. No matter what political faith a man may have been educated in, no matter by what party name he may now prefer to be called, no one can consider such principles and sentiments

as these declared by Mr. Cleveland, without feeling that such a public officer is worthy of the confidence and support of the whole people, and that the interests of the United States will be entirely safe in his hands.

Whether as much could be truly said of his opponent we leave to the judgment of the people, which is never far wrong in its estimates of men and measures. This much, however, may be safely asserted, that no public man, in the last quarter of a century, has displayed greater administrative capacity, greater republican simplicity, or sounder common sense than has characterized Mr. Cleveland's conduct of affairs. His State papers are ideal Democratic documents, and in his private as well as public life we find an utter absence of all attempts at political clap-trap and meretricious show.

CHAPTER IX.

A GLORIOUS VICTORY.

CLEVELAND'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.—HIS REGARD FOR THE LABORING CLASSES.—FALSE ACCUSATIONS REFUTED.—MALICIOUS SLANDERS.—A MISUNDERSTOOD ACTION.—PRINCIPLES APPROVED.—MANLY PROMISES.—VIEWS ON PRIMARY ELECTIONS.—QUESTIONABLE PRACTICES CONDEMNED.—OFFICIAL INTERFERENCE REBUKED.—MERIT THE TEST FOR POSITION.—SENSIBLE SUGGESTIONS.—NO ASSESSMENTS NOR CONTRIBUTIONS.—FUNCTIONS OF THE LEGISLATURE.—RESTRICTION OF CORPORATIONS.—GOOD FAITH COUNSELED.—THE LABORING CLASSES.—CONFIDENCE IN THE PEOPLE.—THE EVILS OF BRIBERY.—THE SIMPLICITY OF DUTY.—CAREFUL EXPENDITURE OF PUBLIC MONIES.—WHO AIDED CLEVELAND.—THEIR FAITH AND THEIR WORKS.

Mr. Cleveland's letter of acceptance of the nomination for Governor is an interesting document, and is herewith submitted, especially as it gives his views in relation to the laboring classes, and their rights and privileges. He has, by malicious enemies, been falsely accused of a leaning toward monopolies, and an enmity to labor. That any reasonable person could read the record of his life and believe these slanders is past belief, but even the unreasonable can be easily convinced of the mendacity of his traducers.

Of course, it has been alleged that the veto of the Five Cent Fare Bill displayed the animus of Grover Cleveland in his dealing with the people, but as we shall show farther on, he could not have acted honestly and done otherwise, and we shall also show that his vetoing of this bill in no way affected the fares paid by laborers, or even citizens of moderate means. But to the letter of acceptance, which is as follows:

“BUFFALO, October 7, 1882.

Hon. Thomas C. E. Ecclesine, Chairman, etc.:

DEAR SIR:—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter informing me of my nomination for Governor by the Democratic State Convention, lately held at the city of Syracuse.

I accept the nomination thus tendered to me and trust that, while I am gratefully sensible of the honor conferred, I am also properly impressed with the responsibilities which it invites.

The platform of principles adopted by the convention meets with my hearty approval. The doctrines therein enunciated are so distinctly and explicitly stated that their amplification seems scarcely necessary. If elected to the office for which I have been nominated, I shall endeavor to impress them upon my administration and make them the policy of the State.

Our citizens for the most part attach themselves to one or the other of the great political parties; and under ordinary circumstances they support the nominees of the party to which they profess fealty. It is quite apparent that, under such circumstances, the primary election or caucus should be surrounded by such safeguards as will secure absolutely free and uncontrolled action. Here the people themselves are supposed to speak; here they put their own hands to the machinery of government; and in this place should be found the manifestations of the popular will. When by fraud, intimidation or any other questionable practice the voice of the people is here smothered, a direct blow is aimed at a most precious right, and one which the law should be swift to protect. If the primary election is uncontaminated and fairly conducted, those there chosen to represent the

people will go forth with the impress of the people's will upon them, and the benefits and purposes of a truly representative government will be attained.

Public officers are the servants and agents of the people, to execute laws which the people have made and within the limits of a constitution which they have established. Hence the interference of officials of any degree, and whether State or federal, for the purpose of thwarting or controlling the popular wish, should not be tolerated.

Subordinates in public places should be selected and retained for their efficiency, and not because they may be used to accomplish partisan ends. The people have a right to demand, here as in cases of private employment, that their money be paid to those who will render the best service in return, and that the appointment to and tenure of such places should depend upon ability and merit. If the clerks and assistants in public departments were paid the same compensation and required to do the same amount of work as those employed in prudently conducted private establishments, the anxiety to hold these public places would be much diminished, and, it seems to me, the cause of civil service reform materially aided.

The system of levying assessments for partisan purposes on those holding office or place cannot be too strongly condemned. Through the thin disguise of voluntary contributions, this is seen to be naked extortion, reducing the compensation which should be honestly earned and swelling a fund used to debauch the people and defeat the popular will.

I am unalterably opposed to the interference by the Legislature with the government of municipalities. I believe in the intelligence of the people when left to an honest freedom in their choice, and that when the citizens of any section

of the State have determined upon the details of a local government, they should be left in the undisturbed enjoyment of the same. The doctrine of home rule, as I understand it, lies at the foundation of republican institutions, and cannot be too strongly insisted upon.

Corporations are created by the law for certain defined purposes, and are restricted in their operations by specific limitations. Acting within their legitimate sphere, they should be protected; but when, by combination or by the exercise of unwarranted power, they oppress the people, the same authority which created, should restrain them and protect the rights of the citizen. The law lately passed for the purpose of adjusting the relations between the people and corporations should be executed in good faith, with an honest design to effectuate its objects with a due regard for the interests involved.

The laboring classes constitute the main part of our population. They should be protected in their efforts peaceably to assert their rights when endangered by aggregated capital, and all statutes on this subject should recognize the care of the State for honest toil and be framed with a view of improving the condition of the workingman.

We have so lately had a demonstration of the value of our citizen soldiery in time of peril, that it seems to me no argument is necessary to prove that it should be maintained in a state of efficiency, so that its usefulness shall not be impaired.

Certain amendments to the constitution of our State, involving the management of our canals, are to be passed upon at the coming election. This subject effects diverse interest and of course gives rise to opposite opinions. It is in the hands of the sovereign people for final settlement;

and as the question is thus removed from State legislation, any statement of my opinion in regard to it, at this time, would, I think, be out of place. I am confident that the people will intelligently examine the merits of the subject and determine where the preponderance of interest lies.

The expenditure of money to influence the action of the people at the polls, or to secure legislation, is calculated to excite the gravest concern. When this pernicious agency is successfully employed, a representative form of government becomes a sham; and laws passed under its baleful influence cease to protect, but are made the means by which the rights of the people are sacrificed, and the public treasury despoiled. It is useless and foolish to shut our eyes to the fact that this evil exists among us; and the party which leads in an honest effort to return to better and purer methods will receive the confidence of our citizens and secure their support. It is willful blindness not to see that the people care but little for party obligations, when they are invoked to countenance and sustain fraudulent and corrupt practices. And it is well for our country and for the purification of politics that the people, at times fully roused to danger, remind their leaders that party methods should be something more than a means used to answer the purposes of those who profit by political occupation.

The importance of wise statesmanship in the management of public affairs can not, I think, be overestimated. I am convinced, however, that the perplexities and the mysteries often surrounding the administration of State concerns grow in a great measure out of an attempt to serve partisan ends rather than the welfare of the citizen.

We may, I think, reduce to quite simple elements the duty which public servants owe, by constantly bearing

in mind that they are put in place to protect the rights of the people, to answer their needs as they arise, and to expend for their benefit the money drawn from them by taxation.

I am profoundly conscious that the management of the diverse interests of a great State is not an easy matter, but I believe, if undertaken in the proper spirit, all its real difficulties will yield to watchfulness and care.

Yours Respectfully,

GROVER CLEVELAND.”

Words such as these were no idle sounds in the mouth of such a man as Buffalo's Mayor, and the conviction of this truth had already forced itself into the minds of the citizens of New York. The ablest ministers, such as Beecher and Cuyler, advocated his claims; the ablest papers, as *Harper's Weekly*, the *New York Times*, *Herald*, and numerous others, either spoke out openly in admiration of him, or said nothing derogatory to him, and those of every shade of political opinion, who desired an honest administration, gave him their ballots, and the Empire State witnessed another tidal wave.

Whether a record for strict, unswerving honesty is of any worth, let Cleveland's one hundred and ninety-two thousand majority over Judge Folger, backed by the men, money and machine of the Republican administration, testify. There is a Turkish proverb which says that “silver is valuable, gold is precious, but a good name is invaluable.” With Anglo-Saxon, or rather Anglo-Norman brevity, we shorten this proverb into an epigram and say, “Credit beats money,” and truly the credit, or reputation, of Grover Cleveland has stood him in better stead than all the money wrung from unwilling clerks, and contributed by too willing thieves to benefit his opponent, could have done.

CHAPTER X.

THE CLEVELAND PEDIGREE.

THE GOVERNOR'S GREAT-GRANDFATHER.—ANGLO-SAXON VIRTUES.—
 THE NORWICH HATTER.—HIS TALENT AND VERSATILITY.—AN
 ORIGINAL ABOLITIONIST.—IN THE CONNECTICUT LEGISLATURE.
 —POLITICS AND RELIGION.—DEATH AT NEW HAVEN.—
 "FATHER CLEVELAND," THE MISSIONARY.—A PROLIFIC RACE.—
 A BISHOP IN THE FAMILY.—A SILVERSMITH AND A DEACON.—
 GROVER CLEVELAND'S FATHER.—LIKE, YET UNLIKE.—A STU-
 DENT AT YALE.—A TEACHER AT BALTIMORE.—ORDAINED A
 MINISTER.—BALTIMORE BELLES.—A WELL-KNOWN CITIZEN.
 —PREACHING IN THE SOUTH.—REMOVAL TO NEW JERSEY.—
 GROVER'S BROTHERS AND SISTERS.—A TRAGICAL DEATH.—AN
 IDEAL STRAIN.—A BORN DEMOCRAT.—STRONG COMMON SENSE.
 THE KEY-NOTE OF REFORM.—STRIKING A CLUE.—A FEW
 TIMELY QUESTIONS.

While we firmly believe that the most interesting matter with which we could fill these pages would be the official papers of Mr. Cleveland, yet we cannot forbear adding to the slight sketch of the man himself which we gave in the opening chapter, and it may not be uninteresting to trace back for a few generations the line from which the reform Governor sprang.

Aaron Cleveland, the great-grandfather of Stephen Grover Cleveland, was born February 9, 1774, at East Haddam, on the Connecticut river, a short distance below Middletown, Connecticut. His parents were English and they have perpetuated, in a long line of descendants, the Anglo-Saxon virtues that are inherent in the race. While but a youth, Aaron Cleveland removed to Norwich, in his native State, and here he remained for the greater part of a long

and active life. By trade he was a hatter and accounted the best one in his section of the country.

Not as a hatter only did he win the respect and admiration of his fellow-citizens, for his mind was exceedingly versatile and he was widely known as a speaker and writer, especially on political subjects. Strange to say, he was one of the originators of the very party whose vices and corruption his great-grandson has been so successful in opposing. Aaron Cleveland was a strong anti-slavery man and presented, in the Connecticut Legislature, the first bill for its abolition.

Toward the close of his life religion seems to have taken a stronger hold of him than politics, and we find him a citizen of Vermont and filling a Congregational pulpit, as minister. He did not forsake his principles, however, and was to the day of his death regarded as a strong Abolitionist. At the time of his death, which occurred in 1815, he had returned to his native State and was a resident of New Haven.

Charles, the oldest son of Aaron Cleveland—born at Norwich in 1772—was well known and universally loved in Boston, where as a city missionary he was called by everyone “Father Cleveland.” The thirteenth child, (for the early race in New England was a prolific one,) of Aaron Cleveland was a daughter, who married the celebrated Dr. Samuel H. Coxe. Arthur Cleveland Coxe, the Episcopal Bishop of New York, is the son of this couple.

The second son of Aaron Cleveland was named Willam. He was a well-known silversmith and lived at Beacon Hill, a suburb of Norwich. For twenty-five years he was a deacon of the Congregational church at Norwich. He was Grover Cleveland’s grandfather, and died at Black Rock,

near Buffalo, in the year 1837. His second son, Richard Falling Cleveland, was the Governor's father.

He was born in Norwich, June 19, 1804. In physical aspect he did not greatly resemble his distinguished son, being pale and thin, but in honesty, brains and noble qualities father and son were parallels. Richard Cleveland entered Yale College in 1820 and graduated with honor in 1824, his classmates being sixty-seven in number; nearly all of whom have long since passed from this stage of existence.

Almost immediately after leaving college he went to Baltimore to teach school, and this profession he followed for four years, being ordained a minister of the Presbyterian church in 1828. His first station was at Windham, near his birth place, Norwich, and here he remained for a year. Whether he had found at Baltimore the great amount of female loveliness that has ever been claimed by the Monumental city we can only judge by his return to it, in 1829, to wed one of its fairest daughters.

His wife was the daughter of Abner Neal, a widely known and estimable citizen of Baltimore, and she was a woman of unusual loveliness. After preaching for some time in the South, Mr. Cleveland removed to New Jersey and settled at Caldwell, from which place he again removed, in 1841, to Fayetteville. In 1847 he was made Secretary of the Home Missionary Society, and in 1853 he was installed as pastor of the Presbyterian church at Holland Patent, where he died October 1, 1853.

His widow resided at Holland Patent from this time until her death, which occurred July 19, 1882; she having outlived her husband nearly thirty years. Of this union there were nine children: Anna, who became Mrs. Dr. Hastings

and accompanied her husband to Ceylon where he was sent as a missionary. William N. the second child was born in 1832, was for a time teacher in the Blind asylum, in New York City, but is now a Presbyterian minister at Forestport, New York. Mary, the next child, was born in 1833, and is now Mrs. W. E. Hoyt. Richard Cecil was born 1835; Stephen Grover, 1837; Margaret—now Mrs. N. B. Bacon—born 1838; Lewis Frederick, 1841; Susan—Mrs. L. Yeomans—1843; Rose Cleveland, unmarried, 1846.

All of these children are still alive, save two of the sons lost at sea, on a voyage to the West Indies. This is the record of the house of Cleveland so far as it would prove of interest to the reader. Here we see the Puritan blood of New England mixing, in the person of Stephen Grover Cleveland, with that of the Maryland cavaliers and producing an ideal strain; the fierce and hardy virtues of the one tempered with the mildness and grace of the other.

This commingling is very noticeable in New York's reform Governor, who personally is cordial, affable and accommodating, but in matters pertaining to the public weal he is inflexible in his determination to protect the interests of the people. A born Democrat, he has no sympathy with monopolies, but is ever a vigilant defender of the rights of the masses. In person he is large and stout, his face is handsome and his manner genial and hearty.

His conversation, which sparkles with humor, involuntarily impresses everyone with its strong common sense—the best of all sense. There is no straining for effect, no endeavor to impress the listener with a sense of the superiority of the speaker, no foreign phrases dragged in by the ears to show off fashionable attainments; the sentences are crisp and short, the ideas epigrammatically expressed, and the

words, as nearly as possible, of one syllable. No public man of the day approaches him in the clearness, accuracy and simplicity with which he expresses himself orally, or in writing.

The key-note of his political ideas is reform and unlike the majority of his cotemporaries, he seems to have solved the problem of how to deal with governmental affairs. "The affairs of the city," he says, "should be conducted, as far as possible, upon the same principles as a good business man manages his private concerns." Here is the essence of political executive management. This is common sense applied to State and municipal affairs. It is Charles Reade's method of "putting yourself in the place" of a person applied to a city. Would you yourself pay \$1,200,000 for a private sewer, running only a few blocks, when you could get it done for \$800,000? No! Then don't let the city do it!

This is a simple explanation of Grover Cleveland's methods of reasoning in regard to governmental affairs. Would such a man as this allow the expenditure of over \$200,000,000 for a paper navy, the actual vessels of which wouldn't sell for \$2,000,000? No man can believe it. Would such a man as this allow a mail contractor \$56,000 a year for carrying, on an average, three letters a week twenty-one miles? The man who believes that he would, after his record at Buffalo and at Albany, is a fit inmate for an asylum for idiots and imbeciles.

CHAPTER XI.

THE BOY THAT WAS NOT AFRAID.

A POLITICAL CONCLAVE.—DISCUSSING THE FARE BILL.—A LITTLE ANECDOTE.—AN OLD CURMUDGEON.—THE BOY'S BATHING-PLACE.—OLD CLOSE'S ORCHARD.—AD SEWALL'S SHADOW SOUP DOG.—HIS DAILY DIET.—A SUNDAY DELICACY.—POPULAR, BUT NOT RIGHT.—A STERN CHASE.—THE YOUNG PROTECTOR.—A SKINFLINT'S ANGER.—NOT AT ALL AFRAID.—WHAT'S IN A NAME.—A CONCEALED AUDITOR.—A GENEROUS INVITATION.—YOUNG CLEVELAND'S AMAZEMENT.—GIVE THE DEVIL HIS DUE.—PARALLEL PRINCIPLES.—THE BILL EXPLAINED.—HIS BEST ENDEAVOR.—A BREACH OF FAITH.—LEGAL AND MORAL OBLIGATIONS.—JUST AND FAIR DEALING.—THE LAW'S LIMITS.—AN HONEST MAN'S DUTY.

“Straws show which way the wind blows” says an ancient and homely adage, and as illustration of this saying we will here relate an incident in the life of Grover Cleveland, that occurred while he was a mere youth, and which was called up during a conversation in the Hoffman House bar-room in New York. A knot of city politicians sat drinking their punch and discussing the Fare Bill which had just been passed. “Will Cleveland let this opportunity for popularity escape?” asked one. “I don’t know about that” said another, “but I’ll just tell you a little story I once heard of him at his old home, in Fayetteville.

“All right,” said the crowd, “let us have it,” and he went on to relate the following:

“In the neighborhood of Fayetteville there lived an old curmudgeon of a farmer whom we shall call Mr. Close, though that word rather represents his disposition than his

name. He was penurious to excess and was extremely unpopular, not only with the boys—for it is natural for generous childhood to despise meanness in any shape—but also with their elders. Mr. Close's farm lay upon a small stream, which was a favorite bathing-place with the youngsters, and in every way he sought to annoy the boys who, it must be confessed, often made way with his apples and other fruits.

Grover was always ready for a swim with his comrades, but could never be persuaded to aid in robbing the orchard of their common enemy. He had often been laughed at for his scruples, and one day something like the following colloquy ensued as the boys were passing down a hedged lane near Close's orchard.

"Well, old goody-goody," said Ad Sewall, a boy of about Grover's age, "what do you say to trying some of old Close's apples—they must be good and ripe by this time."

"Why Ad," said Grover, "I'll say to-day what I've always said, that I won't steal old Close's apples, nor anybody else's for that matter."

"Ah ha," said Ad jokingly, "afraid of Close's dog, are you? Why that animal hasn't got strength enough to bark. He's too thin even to make a shadow. Old Close feeds him on boiled brick bats and wind pudding, except on Sundays when he opens up his heart and treats him to shadow-soup."

This called up quite a laugh at Grover, who good naturally joined in it, saying, when the crowd was again quiet, "You know very well that I'm not afraid of Mr. Close's dog, not half so much as you are, Ad, although you seem to understand his feed and disposition so well."

"That's all right Grover," said Ad, "but honest Injin, old Close is so stingy and mean that everybody hates him,

and I believe every man in the country would be tickled to hear he had been robbed."

"Well, boys," said Grover decisively "it may be popular, but that don't make it right, and I for one won't have anything to do with it."

After a good deal of good natured chaff between the youngsters, during which Ad was appealed to for a description of the ingredients of shadow soup and wind pudding, and Grover was in vain solicited to join in a raid on the orchard, all moved on toward town. A day or two later Grover had been delayed at some task and did not get off with his comrades, but his work over, he hastened out toward the bathing place, where he expected to find them.

Hurrying eagerly along, he turned a corner of Close's lane and beheld the whole party of youngsters in full retreat before old Close and Ad Sewall's shadow-soup dog. Foremost in the retreat came Ad, a very picture of terror, and he flew past young Cleveland with the speed of the wind.

As the last of the boys were passing him Grover had seized a stick lying near him, and seeing that the dog, which was a strong, fierce animal, was apt to bite some of the boys severely, he interposed between pursuer and pursued and by dint of a courageous effort succeeded in beating off the brute.

At this time old Close came running up, almost breathless, and shouting "let that dog alone—what do you mean by striking my dog?"

"I mean," said Grover, boldly, "to keep him from biting any of these boys, that's what I mean."

"What if I take that stick and give you a sound threshing with it for interfering in my business?" said the farmer in a fierce tone.

“I ain’t afraid of your taking this stick,” said the boy, “it’s mine, and you won’t find it easy or safe to try to take it.”

“I won’t, won’t I?” asked Close half amused at the boy’s manliness, “What if I set my dog on you and make him bring you down?”

“I’m no more afraid of your dog than you are, Mr. Close. You can’t bluff me with your dog,” retorted young Cleveland.

“Well, then, if you ain’t afraid of me nor my dog, maybe you ain’t afraid to give me your name,” said Close.

“Not a bit, my name’s Stephen Grover Cleveland, and I’m not ashamed of it,” said the boy.

“Ah ha!” said the old farmer, “you are the boy that wasn’t afraid of Ad’s shadow-soup dog, when he wanted you to rob my orchard last Tuesday. I was lying behind the hedge and heard every word of that talk, and I thought when I saw you licking old Watch, here, that you must be the boy that was too honest to steal, and yet too brave to be afraid. Whenever you want any apples or anything else of mine, you’ve got a standing invitation to help yourself. I may be close, but any boy you think enough of to have for a friend, can come along with you,” and calling his dog the old fellow turned off, leaving the boy in amazement at his suddenly developed generosity.

“This, gentlemen, is the story,” said the narrator, “and I leave you to judge if such a boy as that could ever do a thing he believed to be wrong, just because it might be popular. As for me, I believe he’d like to veto it, and would do it if he could do so conscientiously, but how a lawyer, like he is, can go to ripping and tearing up laws and contracts to make popularity for himself, I don’t see.

I hate a monopoly as bad as he does, but I'm a straight out Democrat, and I'm proud to say that I'd give even the devil himself justice."

A loud laugh greeted this rather broad enunciation of Democratic doctrine, and the crowd soon after dispersed.

When it came to the test, the Governor proved to the politicians, that the boy who could not rob the orchard of an unpopular skinflint, was the type of the man who could not, for his own selfish ends, permit the despoiling of an unpopular corporation. The principle involved was precisely the same, and Mr. Cleveland well-knew how much it would add to his popularity to permit the breach of faith between the State and the corporation, and yet he had the honor and the honesty to turn aside from all personal interest in the matter, and render a just decision.

We will let the Governor speak for himself on the subject, first stating that the elevated road has not, as most railroads have, a dollar of income from freights or anything but passenger traffic, and also that it extends fully ten miles, was built at a very heavy cost and under special guarantees from the State as to its rights and the rates of fare that might be charged by it. Still another consideration should be stated, viz: that at the time the laboring classes, shop girls, clerks, etc., are going to, or returning from their work, the corporation had voluntarily agreed to fix five cents as its charge for passage. In his veto of the bill, the Governor says :

"I am convinced that in all cases the share which falls upon the Executive regarding the legislation of the State should be in no manner evaded, but fairly met by the expression of his carefully guarded and unbiased judgment. In his conclusion he may err, but if he has fairly and honestly

acted, he has performed his duty and given to the people of the State his best endeavor.

* * * * *

Even if the State has the power to reduce the fare on these roads, it has promised not to do so except under certain circumstances and after a certain examination.

I am not satisfied that these circumstances exist, and it is conceded that no such examination has been made.

* * * * *

It seems to me that to arbitrarily reduce these fares, at this time and under existing circumstances, involves a breach of faith on the part of the State, and a betrayal of confidence which the State has invited.

* * * * *

But we have especially in our keeping the honor and good faith of a great State, and we should see to it that no suspicion attaches, through any act of ours, to the fair fame of the commonwealth. The State should not only be strictly just but scrupulously fair, and in its relations to the citizen every legal and moral obligation should be recognized. This can only be done by legislating without vindictiveness or prejudice, and with a firm determination to deal justly and fairly with those from whom we exact obedience.

I am not unmindful of the fact that this bill originated in response to the demand of a large portion of the people of New York for cheaper rates of fare between their places of employment and their homes, and I realize fully the desirability of securing to them all the privileges possible, but the experience of other States teaches that we must keep within the limits of law and good faith, lest in the end we bring upon the very people whom we seek to benefit and protect, a hardship which must surely follow when these limits are ignored."

To have approved the bill would no doubt have added to Cleveland's popularity, but as an honest man could he do it?

CHAPTER XII.

A GOOD TIME COMING.

BETTER RIGHT THAN PRESIDENT.—HONEST CONVICTIONS.—SIMPLE CEREMONIES.—GOVERNOR CLEVELAND'S INAUGURATION.—NO PARADE NOR OSTENTATION.—RADICAL FUSS AND FEATHERS.—CLEVELAND WALKS TO THE CAPITOL.—TAKES THE OATH.—AND GOES AT ONCE TO WORK.—NO CARDS NOR CEREMONY.—A SIMPLE LIFE.—A BYGONE EVENT RECALLED.—TRUE REPUBLICAN SIMPLICITY.—A GOOD OMEN.—CLEVELAND NOT MAGNETIC.—BLESSED WITH ENEMIES.—NO GLOW NOR GLITTER.—A PLAIN AMERICAN CITIZEN.—THEMES OF THANKFULNESS.—WHAT MAGNETISM AND BRILLIANCY HAVE BROUGHT.—BRIBERY, THEIVING AND CORRUPTION.—HONESTY THE EXCEPTION.—THE NATION DISGRACED.—SCHOOL BOY QUESTIONS.

Had Grover Cleveland done aught save veto the Fare Bill he would have forfeited the confidence of all fair-minded people of every party, and showed himself a political trickster and cringing coward, trading off rights belonging to and vested by the State, for influence and popularity, that he might procure his own advancement. No one knew better than he that the approval of that bill would have created the greatest enthusiasm in the minds of the thoughtless and those who at any cost of State or personal honor would strip all hated corporations. But once more the Empire State had secured as its Governor a man who would rather be right than be President.

That his veto of the Fare Bill resulted from an honest conviction, will be plainly seen by anyone who will read his other veto messages both as Mayor and Governor. Some of them will be given hereafter. For the present, in order to follow those matters in their chronological order,

as nearly as may be, we will turn to Cleveland's inauguration as Governor. In this ceremony we see a wide difference between the methods of this model Democrat and the fuss and feathers which characterized the attempt at court pageantry by his Republican predecessors.

The following account of this affair, and of the every day life of the reform Governor is contributed by an old acquaintance, who, while not seeking faults or follies, would have been as blunt and honest as Mr. Cleveland himself in their criticism, had any been found:

"All the traits of assiduous industry, unostentatious dignity, thoroughness and simplicity, noted in Grover Cleveland's early career are observable in his present life at Albany. On the day before his inauguration as Governor, he came down from Buffalo quietly with his law partner, Mr. Bissell, went to the Executive Mansion and spent the night. On the morrow the city was excited with the approaching ceremonies. The streets were crowded, but there was to be no military parade, no procession.

"The Governor-elect walked from the Executive Mansion in company with his friend to the Capitol, which is a mile distant, joining the throngs that were going that way. He entered the building unrecognized, but quite at his ease, sauntered up the Executive Chamber and was there met by Governor Cornell. The moment the inaugural ceremony was over he passed into the spacious Executive Chamber which is set apart for his use, ordered that the doors should be opened to admit anybody, and went immediately to work.

"Never was any important public event so completely stripped of its fuss and feathers. Never was a more radical change effected in the official routine of the Executive De-

partment. Hitherto there were all sorts of delays and impediments in the path to the Governor. Cards had to be sent in, ushers conducted citizens into the ante-rooms and left them to cool their heels on the State's tassellated floor. But the moment Grover Cleveland took possession he issued an order to admit anybody at once who wished to see him. And up to the present time he has been quite able himself to prevent this return to republican simplicity from being abused.

“His habits are indicative of his dislike of ostentation and official parade and of his methodical and industrious training. He walks from the Executive Mansion every morning at 9 o'clock to the Capitol and goes straight to work. At 1:30 he walks back to his lunch, which takes an hour. He then returns on foot to work again, and remains until 6, when he goes to dinner. He is back at 8 and generally stays until 11 or 12. He keeps no horses or extra servants and has not been known to ride since he has been in Albany, except for an occasional pleasure jaunt. The amount of work thus accomplished—as his private secretary, Mr. Daneil S. Lamont, testifies—is something enormous.”

How naturally this plain and truly republican ceremony recalls the inauguration of Jefferson—the founder and father of Democracy—who rode up to the Capitol, hitched his old sorrel steed himself and took the required oath of office.

Here was no blare of trumpet, no roll of drum, no gaudy emblazonment of military parade to dazzle the eyes of the citizen and to hide with tinsel splendor and showy trappings the machinery by which the people were to be despoiled. In their stead was an honest simplicity that recalled the early days of the Republic, when patriotic offi-

cials were the rule and not the exception, a simplicity that boded well for the citizen and the tax-payer.

The same authority says:

“I failed to hear anyone say that Grover Cleveland had any magnetism, or that he fascinated a crowd, or that he drew people after him with a personal glamour. On the contrary, I formed a very distinct notion that there was a class of men that he repelled, and that disliked him as easily, as naturally and as sincerely as a thief hates a magistrate or a smuggler hates a dead calm. Indeed it was impossible to discover either in the man’s record or in the reputation that had grown up about him, anything dramatic.

“The resultant heroism of his life is that common heroism of the “common” work-a-day world, which does its duty, not for effect but for a principle and a purpose, and which, if it does not so easily catch the eye and the ear, is after all the enduring force that the people come to look for and rely upon when there is great work to be done. I looked into his law offices on Main street—this later laboratory where were evolved the legal functions that came into the public service of his own community.

“They were curiously solid and unpretentious, and upstairs were the bachelor rooms where for years Grover Cleveland had slept and worked. I examined them minutely, for one often obtains a glimpse of character by such *entourage*. And they were instantly indicative of the simple tastes, methodical habits and studious life of the occupant.

“Two or three pictures, evidently selected not for decoration but because the owner prized the subject and admired the treatment, hung on the walls. But there was elsewhere not a superfluous article in the room. Elegance had been

forgotten in the successful attempt to secure comfort and convenience and seclusion.

* * * * *

“Grover Cleveland, both in his record and in his person, impressed me as peculiarly the outcome and result of what is best and most enduring in American life. As we have already seen, he started like the typical American boy to hew his own way. The almost insuperable difficulties of his youth, the hardships of poverty, the pangs of hunger, the frosts of winter never deterred him. They were in fact, as they always are to the true metal, only the blows that compacted and shaped the man.

“We hear a great deal nowadays about men being all American. Obviously there are some American things which a man had better be without. It is not pleasant to contemplate a man whose character reflects the heterogeneous and discordant elements of our complex life. Nor is it safe to trust with heavy responsibilities that man whose chief element of Americanism is impatience of restraint, disrespect for the past and an unswerving desire to be smart rather than right.

“The best elements of our American life have always come up from the hardy, vigorous stratum that was nearest to the soil and in some way depended on it. The abiding glory of the country has been in its defiant boys with God-fearing ancestors; boys who had organized in them, by a race of humble but devout pioneers, the patience and industry to achieve and the reverence to respect.

“It is to men of this fibre that the Republic has always gone in its emergencies—turning in extremity from its politicians, its doctrinaires and its workers of statecraft, back to the elemental, vital, honest forces that underlie all its

achievements and that are oftenest found in the sturdy, modest, indomitable workers who have not sought the political race.”

From this source we learn that Grover Cleveland is not brilliant nor magnetic, and for these things let us all be truly thankful. America has been blessed, or rather cursed with too many men of late who were both brilliant and magnetic; let us now hope for a return to the simplicity and honesty which are far more needed. Magnetism and brilliancy have ruled the country for twenty-three years, and what have they done for the people and the country. Let us make a short list of the more than doubtful blessings they have conferred upon us.

They have stolen from the people and donated to railway corporations millions of acres of lands that belong of right to the coming generations of American citizens; they have fostered thievery and corruption, until no one expects to find in any public station an honest official; they have introduced into American politics a system of rings and roguery that are sapping the foundations of the Republic and draining the life blood of her citizens; they have made fraud, violence and bribery as common as is our daily breath, and above all they have degraded the nation in the eyes of the world and rendered her a scoff and a bye-word.

Their infamous legislation has driven American commerce off of the ocean, destroyed our navy and forced American citizens abroad to appeal to other powers for the assistance which, under Democratic rule, was always forthcoming from the home government. Is this so? Ask any school-boy and he can tell you how broadly and well the free flowing banner of the stripes and stars guarded the

rights of the American citizens while the Democracy held the reins of government.

Ask him now if the insults of the contemptible nationality of Spain, which does not rank even amongst the third rate powers of Europe and which trembles like a whipped cur at the slightest frown of England, are not many and grievous. And what do the brilliant and magnetic statesmen do to remedy these grievances? Why, they quietly pocket the insult; leave the murdered American to welter in his gore, or the mangled ship to return to port and assume the British flag that her decks may be safe from Spanish intrusion and her mariners secure from Spanish murder.

These are some of the results of the Republican brilliancy and magnetism, and thank heaven! the frosts of the coming November will shrivel and wither these gaudy exotics, that are all unsuited to the sober and common sense politics of the American Republic. In their stead we shall behold the pearly bosoms of simplicity and honesty, and there will be a rare scattering of the rogues and rascals, when the people shall come to their own again. The rogues have fallen out amongst themselves, and if the old adage holds good, honest men are bound to get their dues.

CHAPTER XIII.

CLEVELAND'S STATE PAPERS.

A MAN OF THE PEOPLE. —FIRST ANNUAL MESSAGE. —CONVICT LABOR. —DANGER OF COMPETITION. —FAITHFUL SERVANTS. —ABOLISH UNNECESSARY OFFICES. —WATCH THE PUBLIC FUNDS. —ILLEGAL PUNISHMENTS. —CARE OVER PRISONERS. —ANOTHER GOVERNOR. —DESPERATION OF CONVICTS. —A VETOED GAS BILL. —NOT SAFE NOR CONVENIENT. —FATAL OBJECTIONS. —CORPORATE TYRANNY. —THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE. —THE UTICA ICE COMPANY. —CUPIDITY AND SELFISHNESS. —NO SPECIAL LEGISLATION. —CONTRACTS MUST BE FULFILLED. —DANGER AND UNCERTAINTY. —BUFFALO CITY CHARTER. —TRUE POLITICAL WISDOM. —GOOD SENSE AND FAIR PLAY. —A THIEVING SCHEME REBUKED. —A VIGILANT OFFICER.

A few pages back we promised the reader to give extracts from the State papers of Grover Cleveland, which would show the utter falsity of the claims of his opponents that he is the friend and ally of corporate monopolies. These extracts we shall now give and we feel convinced that it will require no great degree of study to see that the sympathies of this man of the people are now, as they ever have been, with the people.

It is our intention to begin with the first annual message of the Governor and to follow with a few brief extracts from his vetoes and other papers. In his first message, after a careful review of all matters of interest connected with the State government and suggestions for cutting off unnecessary officers, he comes to the matter of prisoners, and here we find an allusion to labor that shows how he regards the laboring man, and the solicitude he evinces to keep from him dangerous competition:

“If these penal institutions are self-sustaining, without injury or embarrassment to honest labor, it is a matter for congratulation; but it is, at least, very questionable whether the State should go further and seek to realize a profit from its convict labor. In my judgment it should not, especially if the danger of competition between convicts and those who honestly toil, is hereby increased.”

The message concludes with the following summing up:

“Let us enter upon the discharge of our duties, fully appreciating our relations to the people, and determined to serve them faithfully and well. This involves a jealous watch of the public funds, and a refusal to sanction their appropriation except for public needs. To this end all unnecessary offices should be abolished and all employment of doubtful benefit discontinued. If to this we add the enactment of such wise and well considered laws as will meet the varied wants of our fellow-citizens and increase their prosperity, we shall merit and receive the approval of those whose representatives we are, and with the consciousness of duty well performed, shall leave our impress for good on the legislation of the State.”

Our next extract is from a letter to Isaac V. Baker, Superintendent of State Prisons, and shows the broad and catholic kindness and charity of Mr. Cleveland. The letter relates to the abuses of keepers, etc., in inflicting illegal punishment upon those confined in the prisons of New York:

“Hon. Isaac V. Baker, Jr., Superintendent of State Prisons:

DEAR SIR:—I deem it proper to call your attention to the provisions of section 108, of chapter 460, of the laws of

1847, which prohibits the infliction of blows upon any convict in the State prisons, by the keepers thereof, except in self-defense or to suppress a revolt or insurrection; and also to chapter 869 of the laws of 1869, abolishing the punishments commonly known as the shower-bath, crucifix or yoke, and buck. I suppose these latter forms of punishment were devised to take the place of the blows prohibited by the law of 1847.

* * * * *

“I especially desire to avoid any injurious interference with the maintenance by the prison authorities of efficient discipline; but I insist that, in the treatment of prisoners convicted of crime, the existing statutes of the State on that subject should be observed.”

How different this solicitude for these poor wretches from that evinced by the Governor of a State we might name, in whose penitentiary, under his very eyes, his fellow-creatures, guilty of no greater crimes than himself—for he is a self-confessed murderer—have been so tortured and driven to desperation that they have been made mad or forced to commit suicide. This is no fancy picture, as can be vouched for by the Judge of a Federal Court, who sends all of his prisoners to the penitentiary of a neighboring State to preserve them from this horrible and fiendish treatment.

A bill authorizing gas companies to use electricity for the purpose of heating and lighting towns and private property was vetoed for various reasons, of which we here give a few:

“I am convinced that the safety and convenience of the people demand that the conductors and fixtures of the cor-

porations mentioned in this bill should not be permitted upon or over the public streets.

“Another fatal objection to this bill is found in the provision allowing the corporations therein named to enter upon private property and erect and maintain their structures thereon, without the consent of the owner. It seems to me that this is taking private property, or an easement therein, with very little pretext that it is for a public use.

“If a private corporation can, under authority of law, construct its appliances and structures upon the lands of the citizen without his consent, not only for the purpose of furnishing light, but in an experimental attempt to transmit heat and power, the rights of the people may well be regarded as in danger from an undue license to corporate aggrandizement.”

Is this the sort of legislation that marks the friend of monopolies? Is it not rather that of a man jealous of the rights of the people and bound to maintain them?

The next extract from a veto of a bill to extend the time of payment for capital stock of the Utica Ice Company is another rebuke to corporate cupidity and selfishness:

“Our laws in relation to the formation of corporations are extremely liberal, and those who avail themselves of their provisions should be held to a strict compliance with their requirements. There is manifestly no propriety in the passage of a special act to relieve a private corporation and its stockholders, as proposed in this bill. If the capital already paid in is sufficient for its purpose, it may, I think, reduce its stock under section 15 of the act. In any event, the failure to pay in the stock within the time lim-

ited, only subjects the company to be proceeded against and dissolved, after a judgment obtained against it, and renders the stockholders, until such payment, liable for all the debts of the corporation.

“This company, and its stockholders, have assumed for their own benefit certain relations to the State, to the public and to their creditors, and these relations should not be disturbed.

“If corporations are to be relieved from their defaults for the asking, their liability to the people with whom they deal will soon become dangerously uncertain and indefinite.”

In relation to a bill to amend the Buffalo city charter—really a device to obtain control of the Fire Department for political purposes—he says:

“But waiving further criticism of details, my attention is directed to section twenty of the bill, which, to the promoters of this measure, is undoubtedly its most important feature. It provides that immediately upon the appointment and qualification of the chief, the terms of the present commissioners shall cease and determine, and that the terms of office of all the other officers, firemen and employes, shall also cease and determine ten days thereafter. Great care is exercised to provide that the chiefs and all the firemen and employes appointed under the new scheme shall be discharged only for cause, and after due hearing and an opportunity for defense; but to those now in the service, numbering about two hundred drilled and experienced men, no such privileges are accorded.

“The purpose of the bill is too apparent to be mistaken. A tried, economical and efficient administration of an im-

portant department in a large city is to be destroyed upon partisan grounds or to satisfy personal animosities, in order that the places and patronage attached thereto may be used for party advancement.

“I believe in an open and sturdy partisanship, which secures the legitimate advantages of party supremacy; but parties were made for the people, and I am unwilling, knowingly, to give my assent to measures purely partisan, which will sacrifice or endanger their interests.”

The causes which called out the veto of the bill, from which the last extract is made, are plainly given, and here we find as insignificant a measure as a bill to amend the Buffalo city charter giving rise to an enunciation of political wisdom sufficient for a national platform. Simple as it is, the extract contains the essence of governmental economy, of civil service reform, of sturdy honesty and frank partisanship.

It is this rare good sense and indomitable love of fairness that characterizes the greatest political reformer of the present era of American politics. Partisanship is legitimate and even beneficial, says he, unless it comes into collision with the interests of the people. To those it should and must be subordinated, and it must never be used to satisfy personal animosity, or for selfish ends.

The next extract explains itself:

“The persons who seek to be relieved under this bill, signed a bond to the State for the safe keeping and repayment on demand of certain moneys, deposited in behalf of the State in the First National bank of Buffalo.

“The bank has failed and is unable to refund the State’s deposits. The securities in the bond have thus become liable

to pay the money and I can see no reason why they should be relieved.

“I am willing to do what I can to check the growing impression that contracts with the State will not be insisted upon, or may be evaded. *The money deposited with the bank was public money belonging to the people, and I regard it the duty of all having the care of State affairs to see to it that no part is lost by an improper indulgence to those who have agreed that it should be safely kept.*”

If this language were only common amongst those who have the people's interest and money in their charge, there would be fewer broken banks, defaulting cashiers, embezzling clerks, thieving officials, and roguery and dishonesty generally.

The great fault of our modern politics is that it is a rare thing that the best men are selected for officers. Usually chosen from the ranks of the ward politicians, or at least chosen by them, no high standard of honor is to be looked for.

“A fellow feeling makes us wondrous kind,”

and the creature of the rings, placed in position by the lowest elements that curse our politics, sympathizes involuntarily as well as by choice with other rogues of every degree, and he looks upon the robbery of decent people as something legitimate and proper; quite laudable, in fact. In Grover Cleveland this class has ever found an antagonist vigilant and bold, ready at all times to thwart their knavery and uncompromising in his honesty.

CHAPTER XIV.

PRACTICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY.

PLUTARCH IN EBONY.—THE TWO SHERIFFS.—UNCLE BILLY'S COMPARISON.—THE METHOD OF ONE SHERIFF.—ZEAL OF HIS DEPUTIES.—EXPLOITS OF BILL JOHNSING.—LADIES' MEN.—ANOTHER STYLE OF MAN.—INTERRUPTING AGREEABLE EMPLOYMENT.—BUSINESS BEFORE PLEASURE.—THE HORSE THIEF CAUGHT.—OTHELLO'S OCCUPATION GONE.—A VERY COMMON COUNCIL.—A POOR JOKE.—HOW TO BUILD A SEWER.—A MILLION DOLLARS IN SIX MONTHS.—EXPECTATIONS REALIZED.—A MAN WITHOUT OSTENTATION.—TERRIBLY IN EARNEST.—NOT WORKING FOR POPULARITY.—AN HONEST MAN OF BUSINESS.—LAWYER AND CLIENT.—AN ADMIRING OPINION.—A PAINSTAKING GOVERNOR.—THE PEOPLE FIRST, PARTY AFTERWARD.

The story of the lark and the farmer, which is told in one of the readers, through which all of us have blundered with more or less unwillingness, has a parallel in a story that I once heard an old Kentucky negro tell to a jolly crowd, in a court-yard, in that State. He was comparing the merits of two sheriffs who had formerly lived in the county.

“Dey was bofe mighty good men, gemmen, dat dey was,” said Uncle Billy, but de way dey go erbout ketchin’ er hoss thief, mighty diffunt, shore!”

“Well, what was the difference, Uncle Billy?” asked one of the auditors, who was well acquainted with both of the former officers.

“Well, I’ll jist ’splain dat, sar,” said Uncle Billy, “yer see, ole Marse Willium, he was mighty fond ob his ease, an he was mighty good natered, too, so when he heerd dey was er thief in de county, he jist said ter de deperties, ‘Boys,

yer mus' go out an bring in Bill Johnsing, he done stole ernudder hoss. Doan hurt him, boys, if yer kin help it, his pore old fadder mighty good man.' Wid dat he lays back in his big cheer and goes on a readin.'"

"Well, de deperties dey starts out, and one ob em goes down ter Wesport, whar his jularcker libs, an he stays dar all dat day and night, den he rides up ter his home and stays dat night, an de naix day he gits back an he tells Marse Willium dat Bill Johnsing done left de country, shore.'"

"De odder deperty, his jucimspicer, she libs ober in de Floyd Fork naberhood, so he puts off in dat direction, an he wastes 'bout free days, an he comes in an says dat he guess Bill Johnsing done evackerated dat ar seekshin, an dat hit was nothin' but a dern pore mule he tuck any how.'" Dat same night Bill Johnsing done tuck ernudder hoss, an he gets ober in Injianny wid em an sells em.

"That's about correct, Uncle Billy," said one of the deputies alluded to, who had joined the crowd while the old darkey was talking, "How about the other sheriff."

"Well, den," said the privileged old story-teller, "dar was old Marse Naid, (Ned,) he was er diffunt sort er man. When Bill Johnsing done spend de money what he got fer dem hosses, he cum back from Injianny an he steal ernudder. Den de news is tuck ober ter de tabbern whar ole Marse Naid playin' a little game er poker. Well, he jist swars er perfeck streak, cause he done struck er good streak er luck, an doan like ter quit, but he say to dem odder kyorders, 'Boys, I'm got ter quit yer, hit's bizness before pleasure, but I'll sen one ob der deperties ober ter play my han,' an den he has his hoss cotched an he gits on him an he rides, an rides, an rides, tell he ketches Bill Johnsing,

an den he goes back ter de tabbern an lets de deperties go out an see dey gals." Dat's de way he do.

"And you think, Uncle Billy, that if a man wants to do anything he must go about it himself, do you?" said one of the listeners.

"Who say I do, Marse Zach?" said the old fellow quizzically, "I ain't got no say erbout hit, but I'll tell yer what Bill Johnsing say, cause I heerd im; he say dat ef all de sheriffs like ole Naid Taylor, de deperties an de hoss thieves better gib up de purfession an 'tire from dey bizness."

Just so if all of the Mayors and Governors were like Grover Cleveland, unprincipled legislators and thieving ringsters might well prepare to retire from politics and abandon their nefarious schemes. As an instance of this, we will mention an occurrence that happened soon after he was inducted into the Mayor's office of Buffalo.

The Common Council—what a natural blunder is the pretended one of the Negro minstrel in alluding to this body as Common Scoundrels—had determined to build a sewer, which had become necessary, and had advertised for proposals for its construction. Buffalo had long been the paradise of corrupt rings and conspiracies and nothing was thought of it when the lowest bid was found to be \$1,568,000 for completing the work. There is little doubt but that the council would have accepted this bid, or have voluntarily taken a higher one, as they had at least once before done, but they now had a superior who was no friend of jobs, nor thieves.

Though opposed by the council, he procured the passage of a law allowing a commission to be appointed to see if the sewer could not be built at a less cost. He had paced

off the ground, figured carefully on the cost of excavation, masonry, etc., and felt sure that it could be constructed for a much smaller amount. The commission was composed of representative men of Buffalo, who immediately set about their work, mapped out the course and length of the sewer and consulted the most eminent engineers of sewer and drainage construction in the country.

Acting upon their advice, a plan was adopted that accomplished the required improvement, for the sum of \$764,370,—a saving to the city of \$803,630.

If we add to this sum the amount saved by Mr. Cleveland in the street cleaning contract already alluded to, and which amounted to \$109,000, we see that the first six months of the reform Mayor saved the citizens of Buffalo nearly one million dollars. What his administration of the affairs of the State has saved must amount to something enormous. Was ever the election of a man to high offices better justified by the result than has been the placing of Grover Cleveland in positions of trust and honor?

His phenomenal majority of almost two hundred thousand shows how the man and his honesty and firmness had impressed themselves upon the observation of the people of the largest, richest and alas! most politically corrupt State in the Union. All of the decent citizens felt that it was Cleveland, or corruption. If reform was to be had, the commonwealth must look for it in the person of the man who had filled all positions honorably and well. There was no ostentation about him, he was a man too terribly in earnest to be vainglorious.

What his hand found to do, that he did with all thoroughness and dispatch. There was no hurry about him, at least not of that fatal kind that causes mistake, neither was there

any hesitancy. Nothing that he did was for the purpose of obtaining popularity, or of catching the public eye; if he satisfied his own conscience and filled the measure of his duty acceptably to himself,* he was content. There was nothing of self-seeking about him; the representative of the people, theirs was the interest that he studied.

The methods of the politician he has ever especially avoided and his manner of dealing with men and measures has been that of an honest man of business. As an admirer said, during the Chicago Convention, "Grover Cleveland always looks at the people's interest as if they were his clients who had entrusted him with the management of their affairs, and if I was a schemer or a politician, I'd as soon put my head into a hungry lion's mouth as to propose any fraudulent legislation to him." The description was a correct one; Cleveland treats the State or municipality with which he is connected, as executive, as an honest lawyer treats his clients, and woe to the conspirator who seeks to harm it.

New York never before—if we except the administration of the grand Samuel J. Tilden—had so careful and pains-taking a Governor as Mr. Cleveland. In dealing with the Acts of the Legislature generally, he early developed his peculiarity of studying carefully every measure laid before him, not only with a view to judging of its effect and bearing upon public interests, but to ascertain that it was consistent with existing laws and free in its form from such defects as would produce trouble in its operation. He adopted a practice quite unusual of sending back measures, whose purpose he approved, but which were defective in form, to have them corrected. In his vetoes, which were quite numerous, he displayed the utmost candor and a com-

plete disregard of the question whether certain persons or interests would not be agrieved by the failure of measures which he believed were not demanded by the wider interests of the public.

If the people generally were benefitted, private and party interests must take care of themselves, for they were not permitted to clash with his duty to the State. The people first, party afterward, seems to have been his motto, and he has stuck to its enforcement with the rigid determination of an antique Roman.

CHAPTER XV.

CLEVELAND'S EARLY SCHOOLDAYS.

CLEVELAND'S FIRST TEACHER.—A FUND OF REMINISCENCES.—A MANLY BOY.—A THOROUGH SCHOLAR.—A CLEAR ACTIVE MIND.—THE CLASS IN ARITHMETIC.—A MENTAL PROCESS.—THE CORRECT ANSWER.—A MODEST FELLOW.—HONEST AND CONSCIENTIOUS.—FOND OF PLAY.—COMPARED WITH HIS SCHOOLMATES.—A NATURAL LEADER.—A SAFE COMPANION.—HIS STANDING WITH HIS ELDERS.—INDOMITABLE COURAGE.—SUCCESSFUL VENTURES.—NOT A NAMBY PAMBY GOOD BOY.—TEMPER AND PUGNACITY.—A UNIVERSAL CHAMPION.—THERSITES IN MINIATURE.—CUFFS AND KICKS.—THOROUGHLY WELL BALANCED.—EFFECTIVE ARGUMENTS.—THERSITES DISMISSED.—MAGNIFICENT COMMON SENSE.

In Fayetteville, New York, is located the firm of Burhans & Blanchard, proprietors of a planing mill and lumber yard at that place. One of the members of this firm is O. D. Blanchard, who was the teacher of Grover Cleveland when he attended the village school at that place. Mr. Blanchard is a hale, hearty, well-preserved gentleman, and when approached in regard to his now illustrious pupil evinced a perfect readiness to talk upon that subject.

“And so you want my reminiscences of Stephen Grover Cleveland as a school-boy, do you?” said Mr. Blanchard. “Well, as I think of him now I wonder if Grover was ever a boy. He had such a thorough determined way about him and did everything in so man-like and methodical a manner that he never did seem childish to me. Most boys, you know, do not take quite as naturally to books, as young ducks do to water, but he seemed to understand the importance of study and went about it as conscientiously and in

as earnest a spirit as ever you saw a man undertake anything.

“I can’t say that he was brilliant—that is phenominally so—his mind was clear and retentive, but he did not, as some boys do, seem to grasp matters by intuition. This might have come from his habit of studying everything thoroughly and discarding all knowledge that came to him through any other channel than that of investigation. In order to more thoroughly explain what I mean, let me give you a little instance.

“One day when his class in arithmetic was up to recite and figure upon the black-board, a rather difficult sum was given out. Several of the boys tried it and failed, and in looking down the line I noticed that Grover seemed to be deeply studying the matter. Most of the other boys were gazing carelessly about the room, as young boys are apt to do, but his whole mind was evidently concentrated upon the sum. At last his time to try to solve the puzzle came.

“When he reached the black-board and took up the chalk I noticed that he made a line of small figures and then went on with the problem and worked it out in the fullest and most minute manner. Announcing the result, which was correct, I saw him give a hasty glance at the figures and then return to his seat in the class. Going up to the board in a casual sort of way I glanced at the figures he had first set down and saw that they made the correct answer to the sum, which he had worked out mentally.

“This was a chance for considerable self-glorification, but he was not that sort of a boy. Almost any other scholar in the school would have loudly announced that he had found the answer, but Grover seemed only anxious to see if he had been correct. In that as in everything connected with his

studies, as I remember him, he seemed always to be certain about anything he undertook. He never guessed at anything; if a question was asked that he did not understand, or could not answer, he bluntly said so, and never tried to arrive at it by a happy venture.

“Oh, yes, he was fond enough of play,” said the old gentleman in answer to a question, “he was quite a leader amongst the boys in all of their sports. He didn’t seem to me to be overly robust, but he had one of these fine, elastic physiques that can stand a great deal. In comparison with some of his playmates, he called to my mind the two swords of Saladin and Richard Cœur de Leon: the one of the finest Damascus steel; lithe, flexible, and perfectly tempered; the other strong, heavy and powerful.

“This, however, was true only of his physical system; his mind was firm and unyielding as granite. He was one of the boys you must have often noticed, who, by their firmness and utter carelessness of popularity, lead others after them. The whole school might have made up its mind to do some certain thing, or go to some certain place, but I always noticed that if Grover determined to go in some other direction, he would not try to convince the others, but would get ready and pleasantly bidding the others good-bye, would start off.

“Long before he had got out of sight, one after another of the boys would call to him to wait a moment, as they had something to say to him, and the upshot of the matter would be that at least three-fourths of the boys would follow him off. I was very glad of this, for there was never any accident occurred in the contingent that he led, and this fact became notorious around Fayetteville.

“ If a mother or father asked after a boy and was told that he was with Grover, all anxiety seemed to vanish at once. Whether he planned his expeditions more cautiously than the others, or whether it was mere luck, the parties he led seemed always to catch the most fish, pick the most berries and find the best swimming and skating places. His success in everything he undertook was something wonderful, if looked at in an ordinary way, though if properly inquired into, it would no doubt be found to proceed from the fact that he never gave up. His pluck and determination were absolutely indomitable.”

At this point the interviewer ventured the remark that he must have been quite a Sunday-school sort of a good boy. “ Oh, no,” said Mr. Blanchard, “ Not in the namby pamby sort of way we usually attribute to those supernaturally good children who are selected for such themes by the authors of Sunday-school literature. He was a very healthily organized child, and had a proper amount of pugnacity and temper. He was not often engaged in fighting his own battles, for he was perfectly fair in everything, and would even concede a point to a comrade rather than squabble about it, but I suppose he fought more fights for others than any half dozen boys in the school.

“ He could not bear to see anyone imposed on, and never hesitated to assume the quarrel of those who were weak, or oppressed. I remember one poor little fellow with some spinal affection, that kept Grover in continual hot water. Physically the child was weak, but mentally keen and bright, and like many other afflicted persons his mind took the bent of raillery, sarcasm and abuse. He was, in fact, a miniature Thersites, and the bitter thrusts of his

tongue got him many a blow from boys who were not by any means tyrannical, or disposed to be oppressive.

“Grover, as often as any of the others, had to bear these ‘wordy wounds’, but so well balanced was his mind, that he never let them provoke him to chastise the railer. He argued with the others and showed them that it was wrong to hate and beat the cripple, but his most effective arguments were those he did not hesitate to deliver with his fists when he saw his *protege* abused. I suppose he had had a fight with nearly every boy in the school on account of the cripple, and at last I was forced to send the latter to his parents, with the advice to keep him at home, as he was too delicate to continue at school.

“Grover left my school when he was thirteen, and as I have already told you, if he had any especial genius or talent at that time I never observed it. His most prominent characteristics were determination, thoroughness and conscientiousness. He was the sort of a boy that everyone calls manly; nothing sneaking, or mean about him. He was entirely trustworthy, and was one of the few boys I have ever known who placed a proper value upon study. He made the best of every opportunity. His strongest point always seemed to me to be his magnificent common sense.”

CHAPTER XVI.

A MODEL SCHOLAR.

HIS STANDARD FIXED.—IMPULSIVE BUT NOT RASH.—NOT MUCH OF AN ORATOR.—GOOD NATURED SARCASM.—POLL PARROT DECLAMATIONS.—YOUNG CLEVELAND'S COMPOSITIONS.—MODELS OF CORRECT TASTE.—HONEST RAILLERY.—BORN TO COMMAND.—FIRM AND DECIDED.—CHILDISH NECESSITIES.—A GENERAL FAVORITE.—FOND OF A JOKE.—FAULTY PICTURES.—GROVER'S FATHER.—DEVOTED AND CAREFUL.—A SAD BLOW.—AN EXCELLENT WOMAN.—HER SUNNY GOOD HUMOR.—TUTOR AND PUPIL.—A LOVE MATCH.—A HAPPY FAMILY.—CHILDISH ANECDOTES.—NO INDICATIONS OF TALENT.—A DIFFICULT SUM.—A STUDIOUS SCHOLAR.—THE BOOK AT FAULT.—A FALLIBLE ARITHMETIC.—A TEST OF JUDGMENT.—WITHOUT EGOTISM.

“There was an utter absence in the boy of any desire to ‘show off;’” said Mr. Blanchard. “He seemed to have fixed for himself some standard, and if he reached that, he appeared to be satisfied. Not that he was insensible to praise, but that he did not seem to depend upon it for his own approbation. He always did his own thinking and his methods were very different from those of most boys. While ardent and impulsive, he never suffered himself to be led into anything with a rush. If, on reasoning the matter over, he thought well of a proposition, he would take hold with the greatest energy.”

Being questioned as to the boy's oratorical powers, his former teacher said, “He gave no promise whatever of becoming an orator; in fact, he did not at all relish the day upon which declamations had to be made; Friday, I believe it was. It always appeared to me as if he were laughing, in his good-natured way, at the little fellows who would get

up and spout in a grandiloquent manner the orations of Clay, Calhoun and Webster. When he himself had made an effort of the kind, he went back to his seat sarcastically smiling, as though he fully appreciated the incongruity of a mere child thus uttering, like a poll parrot, the wisdom of our political sages.

“In composition he excelled any boy in the school by immense odds. He never affected long words, nor many adjectives. His efforts were marvels, not, of course, of literary work, but of simplicity and good taste. It was refreshing to place him last on the list and compare his terse sentences and one-syllabled words, with the florid, superlatives and involved paragraphs of most of the other boys. I have noticed the same thing in his messages to the Common Council of Buffalo and the State Legislature of New York.

“He always possessed a great deal of good natured sarcasm, not of the kind that bites and stings, but of that kind, that like a healthful bitter, tones up the mind. I don’t believe he could be a flatterer; he was always too honest for that. His popularity with the other boys was wonderful, and I’ve often seen boys his senior by two or three years, led by Grover as if he were born to command them.

“The cause of this I never understood, but every one who has had charge of children, or who has noticed them closely must have observed this peculiarity. You will see one boy who will start off by himself and immediately be followed by the large majority of his fellows, and yet you never see him make any effort for popularity. It cannot be magnificence, but it may be decision and firmness, since most children find a necessity of relying upon some one, and would

naturally select that comrade as a leader, who possessed these protective qualities.

“Grover was a fine looking boy, very strong and active, but hardly giving any evidence of the massive power to which he attained at maturity. He was quite handsome and fully as much of a favorite with the girls as with the boys, but like all healthily organized boys, he seemed to prefer the companionship of his own sex. He was very robust and fond of all out-of-door sports and exercises, in short he seemed an exceptionally healthy boy both mentally and physically.

“He was fond of a good joke, but I never knew him to be guilty of a rude practical one. He was exceedingly quick and apt at repartee—noticeably so for a child. What is somewhat surprising in a lover of jokes and joking, he could stand them as well as make them, and really enjoyed one, even if it was at his own expense. His pictures, it seems to me, can hardly do his serene, smiling face justice, for they all have a severe look, while every line of his countenance denoted good nature.

“His father,” said Mr. Blanchard, in reply to a question, “was a Presbyterian minister and one of the most earnest men I ever saw. He was a thoroughly good man, a great student, and pale and intellectual looking. I hardly think Grover looks very much like him, though when he, his father and mother were together, the likeness shaded off from the parents into the boy in a wonderful manner. The father seemed to try harder to do good than to build up a reputation for pulpit eloquence, and certainly there was nothing of modern sensationalism about him.

“He was very careful of his children, and they were devoted to him. His authority over them was unlimited, and

this appeared rather to result from his uniform kindness and thoughtfulness than from any severity. His death was a sad blow to his family, which was broken up by this calamity. Grover's mother was one of the most amiable women in the world. In her young days she had been rarely beautiful and her disposition and manners were perfect. I think Grover must have inherited his sunny good humor from her, as his father always seemed too deeply immersed in his Master's work to give any of his time to jesting.

"She was a Miss Neal of Baltimore, and certainly maintained the reputation of that city for the beauty and grace of its women. Her marriage with Mr. Cleveland was a very happy one. I believe she used to go to school to him when he was teaching in her native city; at any rate she met him while he was occupied in that capacity, and soon after his ordination as a minister she married him. Their system of family government must have been a very complete one, for there was no wrangling or bickering among the children, and all seemed happy and contented."

"Do you remember any anecdotes of Grover or his schoolmates?" was next asked of the old teacher.

"None of any importance," said Mr. Blanchard. "Over a quarter of a century of a busy life is apt to obliterate nearly every thing of that kind from a person's mind. Of course, if I had looked upon any of the scholars as especially blessed with talent, I should have carefully preserved any evidences of it, but as I have before told you, Grover gave no indications of being a genius, or if he did, I never so interpreted them. He impressed me only as being a boy of singular force, conscientiousness and unity of purpose.

"A few trivial things occur to me at times, but they are so

insignificant as to hardly merit relation. For instance, I had noticed him puzzling over a difficult sum one day and evidently he had become stumped. At last, after trying to work it in every possible way, he came up to me, while I was hearing a class in grammar recite, and asked me if the answer in the book was correct.

“Without looking at it, for I was very busy at the time, I told him that of course it was right.”

“And you think the answer given in the arithmetic can be worked out, do you, Mr. Blanchard?”

“Of course it can, Grover,” I answered somewhat petulantly, “of course it can, if you go about it right.”

“With this he returned to his seat, and for over an hour was busy with slate and pencil. At the end of that time he came slowly up to my desk and in a firm but somewhat reproachful tone informed me that the answer in the book was not correct.

“Don’t you think that your figuring may lack correctness?” I asked him jokingly, “or is that infallible.”

“My figuring is correct,” said the boy gravely, “if there’s any mistake, it’s in the book.”

“Struck with his earnestness I took the book and slate, and in working out the sum found that the wrong answer had been set down in the arithmetic.

“It was the celebrated sum, in Smith’s arithmetic of thirty or forty years ago, that either by design or accident has an incorrect answer affixed. I had never noticed this before my attention had been called to it by young Cleveland, but after that I often tried other scholars with it and never found a single one who exhibited the same confidence in the correctness of his reasoning and his work. Some would give it up after a few trials; some would come to me to work it for

them, but none of them ever boldly proclaimed that he had applied to it every test of judgment and pronounced the book at fault, except Grover Cleveland.

“I don’t want you to get the idea that his confidence arose from egotism, for he was not at all afflicted with that quality ; it seemed to be the result of his sound reasoning powers and his manly confidence that if correct it could have been reached by the rules and tests that had been given for its solution.”

CHAPTER XVII.

SOME ANECDOTES OF CLEVELAND.

RARE GOOD NATURE.—A LOST MAN.—AN ACCOMMODATING GUIDE.
——A GRATEFUL DEBTOR.—A SURPRISED MAN.—AGAIN ASTRAY.
——THE GOVERNOR TO THE RESCUE.—A SAFE PILOT.—ADDITIONAL OBLIGATIONS.—ANOTHER SURPRISE.—LADY VISITORS.
——AN APPROACHABLE MAN.—PUT AT EASE.—A UNANIMOUS VOTE.—A SUCCESSFUL ADMINISTRATION.—PUZZLED CRITICS.
——FALSE REPORTS CIRCULATED.—HONEST CRITICISM INVITED.
——READING THE PAPERS.—ANNOYING FALSEHOODS.—A FRIEND OF THE MASSES.—WHAT DEMOCRACY MEANS.—MR. CLEVELAND MISREPRESENTED.—PROOFS OF HIS ASSERTIONS.—UNSCRUPULOUS DEMAGOGUES.

That Governor Cleveland is a man of rare good nature and without the slightest particle of “the pride of place” which characterizes so many public men, the following anecdote will testify. One of the courts at Albany has for its crier an old blind man, who has served so long in that capacity that he has become thoroughly familiar with the road between his home and the court-house.

Occasionally, lost in a deep study, he misses his way and then his perplexity is pitiable. This was the case one day this spring and the Governor coming along was hailed and asked the direction to the court-house.

“I am going part of the way there myself,” said Mr. Cleveland, observing his blindness, “if you wish I will go with you” and taking the old crier by the arm he led him along as far as the Capitol, from which the blind man said he would have no difficulty in finding his way.

As he was about to start, he asked the name of his guide. “My name is Cleveland,” said the Governor.

“Are you in business here in the city?” asked the blind man. “Yes, I have an office up here in the capitol.”

“Why, you surely can’t be the Governor, are you?”

“Yes, I am, the Governor.”

This was quite an adventure for the old crier, and he never wearied of talking of the urbanity of Governor Cleveland. Singularly enough, since his nomination for President the Governor again found the old man astray and taking his arm he led him along toward the Capitol.

On the way the blind man told his accommodating guide that not a great while before, he had lost his way and that a gentleman, whom he found out afterward to be the Governor of the State of New York, had met him and kindly led him on his way as far as the Capitol.

“And now,” said he, as his guide announced that they had reached the Capitol, and that he must stop there, “to whom am I indebted for this kindness?”

“You have encountered the Governor again,” said Mr. Cleveland modestly, as he hastened off to escape the shower of thanks with which the old man proceeded to deluge him.

This is but one of the hundreds of anecdotes that could be told of the kindliness and simple courtesy of Grover Cleveland.

To show how little there is of austerity in Mr. Cleveland and how truly his face types the big and humane heart that beats within his breast, we will relate a rather ludicrous occurrence that happened to a party of ladies who had come up from the rural districts to do Albany, and who had visited the Capitol to get a sight of the much talked of reform Governor.

Observing a group of men in one of the halls engaged in conversation, the spokesman of the party selected the

pleasantest looking and most approachable one of the party and marching up to him asked if he could point out Mr. Cleveland, the Governor, to her and her companions.

"I can do so madam," he replied courteously, "my name is Cleveland, and at present I am the Governor."

The lady, who had expected to behold some wonderful form of man, was greatly abashed at having so boldly approached a real live Governor, but she was soon made to feel perfectly at home, and when the ladies left, it is safe to say, that had woman's suffrage been established, Mr. Cleveland would have got every vote in the party at the ensuing election.

Since his successful administration of the affairs of his various offices and his thorough carrying out of his reform measures, his enemies have been nonplussed to find something upon which to base a hostile criticism, and it seems that they have finally settled down upon his veto of the Five Cent Fare Bill of the New York elevated railways to prove that he is an enemy of the laboring masses. We have already shown the falsity of this charge and have shown that during the hours when these roads are used by working people the fare is already five cents.

That this persistence in endeavoring to falsify his record and his feelings annoys him is but natural, though this is one of the few things he allows to weigh upon his mind. Honest criticism he rather enjoys, and says that he considers it perfectly legitimate and that it should be encouraged, as at times it might place matters in a new light to a public man, who might otherwise unintentionally go wrong.

Some one asked him, not long since, if he ever read the newspapers that abused him.

“Sometimes,” said he, with a smile that broke out all over his face.

“Do you ever get disturbed over anything they say?”

“Not much. Every man has a right to enjoy his own mind. I remember an old fellow who was a neighbor of my father, and we would sometimes try to get him to come over to our church. He was a strong Baptist and he would always say: ‘No; you folks are Presbyterians, and if I go over to your church I could not enjoy my mind.’ Of course that was the end of the argument.”

“What is the most annoying thing they have ever published about you, Governor?”

“Well, I have been more surprised (and then he did twist just a little in his chair) at the way I have been misrepresented as to the laboring men than anything else. I don’t see how the idea ever got out in the first place that I have been opposed to the interests of the laboring men. I cannot remember one single act in my life that could be reasonably construed into anything inimical to their best interests. It has just been the other way with me. I have always taken particular pains, whenever it was in my power, to see their interests well guarded. But I have no fear as to the outcome. I have observed that laboring men have minds of their own as well as political principles, and when there has been a full investigation of my official life the facts will be made known and I am not uneasy as to the result. They talk about the workingmen as if they were a lot of sheep to be corraled or scattered by this man or that. Most workingmen are natural Democrats. Democracy means the rule of the people, and the Democratic party has always been the natural friend of all the working men. I do not think any great number of those who are in my party

will fail to vote for me. First, because they are naturally disposed to go with their party, and second, because they will learn long before election day that my attitude toward them has been misrepresented."

His defense of himself is amply proved by his administration, which has, wherever honor and good faith would permit, been directed against the few and in favor of the many. He has proved by his deeds, which speak louder than any words he might use, that he is a true Democrat, a friend of the people and the enemy of monopoly and fraud. Certainly the masses will not suffer themselves to be imposed upon by unscrupulous demagogues at the expense not only of their champion, but also of their own best interests.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CULMINATING PERIOD.

A RECAPITULATION.—IN SEARCH OF WISDOM.—THE COUNTY CLERK.—TEACHING THE BLIND.—EDITING STOCK BOOKS.—THE LAWYER'S CLERK.—THE FIRST PREFERMENT.—ORDER OUT OF CHAOS.—A BITTER FIGHT.—REFORM THE VICTOR.—A POLITICAL PRODIGY.—THE PEOPLE'S CHAMPION.—INALIENABLE RIGHTS.—HONEST REPUBLICAN ACTION.—A BROADER FIELD OF LABOR.—UNWAVERING FIDELITY.—A RAPID ELEVATION.—ABLE STATE PAPERS.—A SOUND POLITICAL MAXIM.—NEVER OUT OF DATE.—THE USE OF WORDS.—A THOROUGH LAWYER.—HONEST INSTITUTIONS.—SEDUCTIVE JOBS UNVEILED.—A LABORING MAN.—FOURTEEN HOURS A DAY.—A DEMOCRATIC OFFICER.—NO LACKEYS, NOR CEREMONY.—A UNIVERSAL TRIBUTE.

We now approach the culminating period in the life of Grover Cleveland. We have seen him as a school-boy seeking eagerly for that best of all earthly possessions, knowledge, and with manly persistence availing himself of every opportunity that presented itself. We have seen him as a youth clerking in a country store and filling his small sphere of usefulness honestly and well. We have seen him next as the tutor of those unfortunates, the inmates of New York's Institution for the Blind. Then comes the real struggle in life's arena, the setting forth in search of fortune.

Editing stock books, and good ones at that, for his uncle Lewis F. Allan is an authority in such matters, and acting as under clerk in a lawyer's office are his next occupations, and then comes a preferment; his promotion to the chief clerkship with Messrs. Rogers, Bowen & Rogers. Fortune now favors the man who had asked no favors of any

one, and we see him reach successively the Assistant District Attorneyship, the Sheriffalty of Erie county and the Mayoralty of Buffalo.

All of these positions were filled as they had never before been filled. Order was brought from official chaos, reforms were inaugurated and successfully carried out, and fraud and corruption banished. A new order of affairs prevailed in high places, and the thieves and ringsters were struck dumb with amazement. Of course they made a fight, a bold and bitter one, to retain their thieving privileges, but their battle was in vain and one by one they were vanquished.

These combats of reform against corruption, of honesty against fraud, had attracted the eyes of the State which had been made their arena. The reform Mayor of Buffalo was looked upon as a political prodigy, a thoroughly honest official in the midst of the unbounded corruption and dishonesty that characterized the politics of the grand Empire State. Here was a champion of the people, not only able but willing to rescue them from the official bandits that had so long plundered them that they had come to look upon this as one of their inalienable rights.

This was the man, all honest people felt, to rescue the State from its spoilers, and he was next nominated by the Democrats for the gubernatorial office. To the honor of those members of the Republican party who did not believe that party politics should be carried to the extent of aiding in party frauds or upholding with their ballots party thieves and corruptionists, be it said that they either held aloof from the polls or else cast their votes for Grover Cleveland, and he was elected by the unprecedented majority of one hundred and ninety-six thousand.

On the broader field which was now entrusted to him his tactics did not vary. He had been selected by the people to honestly administer his office, and that he would do, come what might of it. As Governor of the State he exhibited the same judgment—the outcome of sound practical common sense—the same honor and the same integrity that had shown forth so conspicuously in his former administration of public trusts.

The elevation from one high office to another still higher—rapid though it had been—did not cause him to lose his head. To every measure proposed by the Legislature he gave earnest study and a sound reason for every official action. All of his State papers are sound, logical and wise, but some of them seem almost the result of inspiration. All are expressed in terse, vigorous English and convey no doubtful meaning. A spade is called a spade and political jobbery is sternly rebuked as such.

We find him carrying out here his maxim that “the affairs of public offices should be conducted as a safe and prudent business man conducts his private affairs.” It is useless to hunt further for a shorter or sounder rule of action in public matters. New York’s practical reformer has struck the key-note and laid down an axiom that will serve as a guide a thousand years from now. Like good common sense it can never grow out of date nor out of usefulness. It is the essence of political wisdom.

Words were used by the reform Governor, not to cover up and disguise ideas, or the want of them, but in a trenchant manner to dissect fraud and trickery wherever he found them. There is no mistaking his meaning; no construing his no into a covert yes, nor his disapproval into acquiescence. The State legislators soon learned to know

that what Governor Cleveland said, he meant, and they also learned to recognize the fact that he could quote not only cogent reasons for his actions and beliefs, but in addition could point out all of the law bearing on the case.

No matter how seductive the job, nor how neatly disguised, Mr Cleveland, with the instinctive intuition of honesty, penetrated its veil and stripped from it its tinsel trappings, exposing it in all the hideous nakedness of its true character. Had he not been the most industrious and pains-taking Executive that ever sat in a Governor's chair, this could not have been done, for using every possible mode to trap him into approval, the title of a bill but seldom proved a true index to its intent. It was only by carefully reading and cautiously studying out their purposes that many speciously entitled bills failed of passage.

Even had he never been a laboring man before, his arduous labors at Albany, in the cause of honesty, reform and good government, would entitle him to membership in any working man's club that the country contains. From nine—often eight—in the morning to eleven or twelve at night have been and still are his hours for work. With this work official dignity has never been allowed to interfere and he buckles to it in his shirt sleeves like a man who is terribly in earnest, and that he is so no one doubts that has ever seen him at his task.

Nothing important is left to his secretaries; legislative enactments, applications for pardons, examination of applicants and all such matters, he finds time for, himself, in addition to his other duties. His Secretary, Col. Lamont, himself sufficiently energetic and attentive, says that Governor Cleveland can do more work than any three men he ever saw.

His work room is his reception room, and here any citizen of the State,

“The humblest vassal, the obscurest tradesman,

The very leper, shrinking from the sun, though loathed by charity,” finds a courteous greeting and a cordial welcome. There is no sending up of cards by a liveried lackey, no cooling of heels in far-off ante-chambers, but every one is free to visit and claim audience with this servant of the people. If nowhere else on earth, true democracy certainly reigns in the Capitol at Albany.

This, be it understood, is no partisan panegyric, but it is the universal tribute paid by all to New York’s model reformer. Take the best sentiment of the State, its most cultivated citizens, its most earnest ministers, its most influential papers, and last but not least, the grand mass of the people, and the same praise is everywhere heard, not from those of Democratic belief only, but from all who deem honesty and honor a requisite of good citizenship and of good government.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE TWO NOMINATIONS—THEIR MEANINGS.

REPUBLICAN RULE IN 1876.—POLITICS AND PRINCIPLES.—A PARTY THAT NEVER DIES.—BRIBERY AND PREJUDICE.—A CHANGE OF POLICY.—THE THIRD TERM FALLACY.—A RECKLESS EXECUTIVE.—GREEDY OF WEALTH AND POWER.—SAMUEL J. TILDEN, THE REFORMER.—HIS ELECTION TO THE PRESIDENCY.—THE INFAMOUS EIGHT.—THEIR GRANDEST INFAMY.—A THRIFTY LITTLE CREATURE.—MAKING A FORTUNE.—A DEMOCRATIC MISTAKE.—THE SAGE OF GREYSTONE.—TOO LATE.—HOPING AGAINST HOPE.—A FATEFUL TELEGRAM.—NEW YORK'S SECOND REFORMER.—THE REPUBLICAN CHALLENGE.—WHAT ITS NOMINATIONS MEAN.—DEEDS VERSUS WORDS.—POLITICAL BANDITS.—DEMOCRATIC NOMINATIONS.—WHAT THEY MEAN.—ACTUAL AND PRACTICAL REFORM.

In 1876 honest people of all shades of political opinion had become tired of the corruption and downright thievery that cursed radical rule and permeated every fiber of the body politic. The naval and postal departments which afterward blossomed out as peculiarly gorgeous in their iniquities were at this time no more rotten than every other branch of the administration. Robbery was the rule, honesty the exception with the party in power.

Decent Republicans, those with whom politics represented a principle and not a machine by which robbery was made safe, easy and profitable, had revolted in numbers from their party and had declared that until its methods were changed they would give it neither aid nor countenance. At this juncture the deathless Democracy sought for a fitting candidate to place before the people as their leader—a man so identified with reform that there could be no mistake as to his course if elected President.

For years this had been their course, but they had ever found party prejudice and the bribery and illegal practices of the Republican party an impassible barrier to public favor, and their ablest and purest statesmen had been successively beaten. This time, however, the masses of the Republican party themselves realized that if deliverance from official corruption and oppression were to be secured at all, it must be secured through the Democracy.

In their own convention they had narrowly escaped from the infliction of a third candidacy of a man who, however they might have regarded him as a general, they could not but see was a reckless civil executive, guilty of shameful actions and associations, greedy of wealth and power, and unmindful of the traditions of the Republic.

In his place had been nominated an unknown creature whom the party leaders felt would be as wax in their hands, and the voters, too, mistrusted his firmness and ability. He was in the very worst sense of the term a compromise candidate of but little promise and that little not of the best. To oppose him the Democrats selected a man who had proved himself able to cope with rings and roguery whether in municipal or State matters, and their nomination was tendered to New York's reform Governor, Samuel J. Tilden; a man whose purity and patriotism will be deathless themes as long as the memory of the American Republic survives.

Elected by a popular majority of two hundred and fifty thousand and a sufficient electoral vote to give to him the Presidency, he was counted out by the "infamous eight" Republican officials who composed the majority of the Electoral Commission. This was the crowning Republican infamy; never before in all of their outrages had they been able to thus, by a single blow, strike down the liberty of

every citizen, high and low, and to make American citizenship a by-word and a reproach.

The thrifty little creature who profited by this outrageous theft, left the Presidency at the end of his term richer by nearly two hundred thousand dollars than when he entered it four years before, but despised by every decent citizen of the United States, and to-day is forgotten even by his own party, one of whose ablest leaders boasts that in all his speeches he never once mentioned the name of this creature.

In 1880, the Democracy made the mistake of not again placing in nomination their defrauded chiefs, Tilden and Hendricks, and again they were beaten. As 1884 approached, a cry for the grand old sage of Greystone went up, but it was too late. Eight years had added greatly to the infirmities of the patriot, and he recognized the fact that on some younger man must devolve the duty of leading the Democratic hosts to victory. Like Seymour his cry went forth "Your candidate I cannot be."

Hoping against hope, the masses clamored for Tilden, who in a letter declined a nomination, asserting that it was too late and that he could not accept. Even after the gathering of the clans at Chicago, numbers clung to the fond delusion until the reception of the following telegram:

"GREYSTONE, July 5.—HON. WILLIAM H. BARNUM, Chicago, Ill.: I have received your telegram, informing me of the disposition to nominate me for the Presidency, and asking; 'Will you accept a unanimous nomination from the convention?' and also a telegram from Mr. Manning, saying: 'It seems absolutely necessary that you (I) should answer Barnum's telegram as soon as possible.' Your inquiry was explicitly answered in the negative by my letter of June 13th, to Mr. Manning. S. J. TILDEN."

This settled the matter finally and the people now determined, if they could not have their old chief, as nearly as possible to select one his equal in honor and integrity and minus the infirmity of his years.

With one accord Grover Cleveland, New York's second reform Governor, was declared to be the man. He possessed all of the honesty, all of the firmness and all of the capacity of Tilden and in addition he was in the prime of life and just entering the full maturity of his powers. He was no unknown quantity in American politics, his administration had been cursed with no uncertainties. In his vocabulary reform had no indefinite signification. It was not merely an idle breath, but it meant to purify, to regenerate, to abolish evil and to rehabilitate honesty and purity.

The Republican party had met a month before them and had declared to the people what their policy would be. The selection of their candidates spoke as clearly as words could express it "We are in for another campaign in which brilliant fraud and magnetic corruption shall be our watch-words. The Dorseys, Elkins', Robesons, Chandlers and Kelloggs shall be our leaders. Public plunder is our aim. Grasping railroads and infamous star routers shall be our *proteges*. Thieves shall rule, while honest labor toils on in agony. The navy shall be the prey of thieving secretaries and their boon companions, swindling contractors."

All this and much more their deeds spoke more plainly than the ambiguous words of their platform, which might mean anything and really means nothing. Their standard bearers' reputations proclaimed aloud, "We are for ignorant demagoguery, we are for railroad jobbery, we are for Zuni Indian lands, we are for Peruvian guano beds—in short, we

are for political bandits, we are for general jobbery, robbery and corruption.”

To oppose this platform and these candidates, the Democracy put up men whose record is such that there is not an evil point upon which foul calumny can hang a single evil accusation. Their deeds guarantee the platform of honesty, honor and reform. Their election means no more robbery of the public funds, no more thieves in public places, no more robbery in the post office or the navy, no more Bradys and Dorseys, no more Robesons, Roaches and Chandlers. It means economy of administration, abolishment of useless offices and officers, it means low taxation and no favored classes, it means a navy that can protect the American citizen any where beneath the grand canopy of heaven—in short it means actual and practical reform.

CHAPTER XX.

NOMINATION OF CLEVELAND.

MUSTERING OF THE CLANS.—A GRAND GATHERING.—SPEEDING THE HAPPY NEWS.—HOW IT WAS RECEIVED BY GOVERNOR CLEVELAND.—HARD AT WORK.—SURROUNDED BY FRIENDS.—A DISAPPOINTED CROWD.—A SLIGHT CHANGE.—KEEPING LATE HOURS.—NOT AT ALL EXCITED.—DOUBT AND UNCERTAINTY.—TAMMANY'S POLITICAL PIRATES.—THE TELEPHONE'S WHISPERINGS.—WHEELING INTO LINE.—STAMPEDE OF THE STATES.—THE SIGNAL GUN.—CLEVELAND'S CONSIDERATION FOR OTHERS.—ADMITTING THE CROWD.—A LABORING MAN'S PROPHECY.—THE MAN OF AND FOR THE PEOPLE.—RECEIVING CONGRATULATIONS.—A FLOOD OF TELEGRAMS.

When the Democratic Convention—the grandest political assemblage the world has ever witnessed—had finished the greater part of its labors and Grover Cleveland had been nominated as its candidate for President of the United States, the whole country was wild with enthusiasm. The telegraphic wires carried the news into every city, town and village throughout the country and every where the voices of the people rent the air with cheers for the people's candidate, the New York reform Governor.

Let us see how the news was received by the nominee himself, that would naturally be supposed to be the man of all others most excited by and interested in the nomination. He did not betray the slightest excitement, in fact so little did the news of the balloting discompose his usual calmness that he continued steadily at work. When the first afternoon's balloting was expected, a number of his friends dropped into the executive chamber where he sat at his desk, engaged in his daily routine of business.

When the afternoon had passed away without any balloting and the adjournment was proposed and carried, much disappointment was evinced by his assembled friends, who looked upon this as ominous of his defeat. Not a tone of Mr. Cleveland's voice, not a muscle of his face betrayed the slightest anxiety in regard to the matter. He conversed cheerily and his good humor and witty remarks were as conspicuous as ever.

But a single change in his usual routine was discernable, he did not return to his office after his 5 o'clock dinner, as had been his custom, but spent the rest of the evening at the executive mansion, surrounded by a pleasant family circle composed of his sisters, Miss Rose Cleveland and Mrs. William E. Hoyt, and his nieces, the Misses Hastings. Some friends were also present and bulletins arrived every few minutes.

Not one in the group appeared so unconcerned as did Mr. Cleveland. When the first ballot was announced he said, "This is as large a figure as expected at first." It was some time after this that the adjournment to the next day was carried. "This delay looks bad," said Mr. Cleveland, "I can't say that I like it." "The convention adjourned until ten o'clock to-morrow," said the telephone at about half-past two o'clock.

"Don't you think this is keeping rather late hours for very small results?" asked the Governor jokingly, as he bade all good night.

Before ten o'clock the next morning Mr. Cleveland was at his desk in the Capitol hard at work and seemingly oblivious of the fact that that day held in its balance his fate as the nominee of his party. If he thought of it at all, there was enough of doubt and uncertainty presaged in the action

of yesterday's convention to carry to his soul a harrowing anxiety. The extreme rancor of the Tammany gang had been plainly developed, and it was clearly to be seen that they would leave no means unused to defeat him.

Anxious only for the spoils of municipal offices, these pirates had more than once shown their readiness to scuttle the Democratic ship, if the city of New York were not delivered to them bound hand and foot. Grover Cleveland they knew would consent to no such infamy, and hence they hated him as a thief ever hates a vigilant officer, or as the devil detests holy water.

The telephone began its whisperings early and in spite of a turn toward Hendricks in some of the delegations, there was perceptible a strong undertow that seemed bound to give the nomination to the reform Governor. When North Carolina turned to him, and Pennsylvania wheeled into line, it was plain to see that the prize was his. Of course the telephone could not detail that wonderful tidal wave that ensued, the stampede of States to turn in their votes to the child of reform and of destiny.

The storm is ever preceded by a lull, and the silence of the telephone, after announcing the action of North Carolina and Pennsylvania, was ominous. While every one was anxiously awaiting further news there burst upon the silence the booming of a heavy cannon.

"That settles it," said the Governor turning to Col. Lamont. "The first gun for the Democracy," said the latter, as he turned to open the door of the Governor's private office to admit the crowd waiting to congratulate him.

"Come in," he said warmly to the waiting crowd, and the rush began. Before the door had been opened, however, Mr. Cleveland had said gently to one of the secre-

taries, "Please go over to the mansion, sister will be glad to hear this."

In the line that passed through the office were all kinds and conditions of men. There were the politicians, but not those alone, for in the mass were private citizens, men of wealth, and day laborers from the city's streets. One of the first to seize the extended hand of the Governor was a laborer with a tattered hat and in his shirt sleeves. "God bless you, President Cleveland—I should say Governor Cleveland, but I'll let it go, for you will be President," he said as he passed on.

With General Farnsworth upon his right and Colonel Lamont on his left, the Governor stood serene and dignified as ever, receiving the handshakings and congratulations of those that crowded into the room. It was a popular ovation to honor and integrity, and was a sight but seldom seen in this age of the Republic. It was a democratic reception of the people by the people's servant and representative.

When the human tide had flowed through the room, then began a steady stream of telegrams, of the thousands of which we give a few.

There were messages from all the brightest and best of the Democracy in the land; Hoadly, Thurman, McClellan and Bayard were heard from, besides a host of lesser lights.

The following are specimens of what were sent:

"I congratulate you and the country ; I heartily congratulate you upon your nomination.

GEO. B. McCLELLAN."

"Accept my best wishes for your triumphant election and assurance of my thorough and steadfast support in the canvass.

T. S. BAYARD."

“Glory hallelujah !

J. E. CAMPBELL, of Alabama.”

“My choice from the beginning ; Texas will give you over one hundred thousand majority.

RICHARD B. HUBBARD.”

BUFFALO, N. Y., July 11.

“To Grover Cleveland, Executive Chamber, Albany, N. Y.

The day of jubilee has come ; the old law office sends a thousand congratulations.

G. J. SICARD.”

The first from Chicago was from the editor of *The World*, and said :

“Congratulate you and the cause of good government. You are nominated.

PULITZER.”

Gov. Hoadly telegraphed :

“I congratulate you and our country. We are now firing 100 guns. Ohio leads the column for your victory.

GEORGE HOADLY.”

The Hon. George D. Wise, of Virginia, telegraphed : “Virginia will give you 30,000 majority.”

The Chairman of the Democratic Committee of West Virginia telegraphed : “Congratulations and enthusiastic support.”

Congressman Leopold Morse : “Your nomination is an indorsement of honest independence in public office. Accept my congratulations.”

The Chairman of the Washington County Committee sent : “We will give you the largest Democratic vote ever cast in the county.”

A Boston dispatch read : “Republican Grover of Massachusetts congratulate you.—W. D. GROVER.”

A Springfield (Mass.) Bourbon sent: "A depressed and defrauded country hopes for your election."

The Hebrew banking firm of Wormser & Co., New York, sent hearty congratulations, and expressed the belief that the nomination would be indorsed.

The Boston *Herald* sent congratulations. Aaron J. Vanderpool telegraphed the congratulations of the New York Manhattan club, which believed the nomination meant victory.

Baltimore Democrats sent word that Maryland would give Cleveland 20,000 majority.

From Rochester a dispatch was sent, stating that 100 guns were being fired and great enthusiasm prevailed.

The Utica *Observer* declared that it entered the campaign with the utmost zeal.

Dispatches followed from ex-Senator William H. Murtha, ex-Senator C. E. Patterson, Deputy Treasurer E. K. Apgar, and the Buffalo *News*.

The Hardwick Metal Works Factory at Buffalo sent a dispatch:

"Forty-seven workingmen in our factory join with me in congratulating you.

A. H. HARDWICK."

Other dispatches read:

"Norfolk Va., congratulates you and believes you will be triumphantly elected. Virginia will do her best.

M. T. COOK."

"New York: We congratulate you.

H. H. WARNER."

New York: The best elements of the party are with you. The masses of the whole country favor honest administration of public affairs.

JOHN C. LATHAM."

Gov. McLane, of Maryland, says: "Accept my felicitations and conviction that you will be elected."

S. S. Cox says: "I join with crowds of friends in salutation and rejoicing. Your election is only a question of time."

The heads of delegations and prominent citizens all sent congratulations. N. F. Smith, of Williamstown, Mass., says: "Have voted Republican ticket twenty-four years and will vote for Cleveland."

G. B. Warren, of Troy; D. C. McMillan, of New York; Senator Kiernan, Mayor Edson and L. C. Cassidy, Attorney-General of Pennsylvania, all sent hearty congratulations.

CHAPTER XXI.

A DAY IN CAMP.

THE GOVERNOR SERENADED.—A SENSIBLE SPEECH.—AT WORK AGAIN.—VISIT TO THE STATE CAMP.—ALL PARADE AVOIDED.—QUIETLY “DROPPING IN.”—ARRIVAL AT CAMP.—TWENTY-ONE GUNS.—AN EXCITED VILLAGE.—“THE BOLD SOLDIER BOYS.”—PRESENT ARMS!—A SOLDIER’S LUNCH.—AN IMPROMPTU RECEPTION.—A DUSKY PHILOSOPHER.—DAN JOHN-SON’S GUESS.—LUDICROUS COMBINATIONS.—ANTIQUE AND MODERN STYLES.—“WE ARE GOING TO FIGHT IT OUT.”—A DEMOCRATIC INCIDENT.—THE DELAYED REVIEW.—THE GOVERNOR’S DEPARTURE.—ENTHUSIASTIC CHEERING.—ON THE TRAIN.

When night came the Jackson Corps and the Young Men’s Democratic Club of Albany secured a band and gave the Governor a serenade at the executive mansion. When the music had ceased loud cheers and calls for “Cleveland” were heard, an immense crowd having gathered around the serenaders. In answer to these calls Mr. Cleveland stepped to the edge of the upper terrace and spoke as follows:

“FELLOW CITIZENS—I cannot but be gratified with this kindly greeting. I find that I am fast reaching the point where I shall count the people of Albany not merely as fellow citizens, but as townsmen and neighbors. On this occasion I am, of course, aware that you pay no compliment to a citizen and present no personal tribute, but that you have come to demonstrate your loyalty and devotion to a cause in which you are heartily enlisted. The American people are about to exercise in its highest sense their power and right of sovereignty. They are to call before them their public servant and the representatives of political parties

and demand of them an account of their stewardship. Parties may be so long in power and may become so arrogant and careless of the interests of the people as to grow heedless of their responsibilities to their masters. But the time comes, as certainly as death, when the people weigh them in the balance. The issues to be adjudicated by the nation's great assize are made up and are about to be submitted. We believe that the people are not receiving at the hands of the party, which for nearly twenty-four years has directed the affairs of the nation, the full benefits to which they are entitled, of a pure, just and economical rule, and we believe that the ascendancy of genuine Democratic principles will insure a better government and greater happiness and prosperity to all the people. To reach the sober thought of the nation, and to dislodge an enemy entrenched behind spoils and patronage involves a struggle, which, if we underestimate, we invite defeat. I am profoundly impressed with the responsibility of the part assigned to me in the contest. My heart, I know, is in the cause and I pledge you that no effort of mine shall be wanting to secure the victory which I believe to be within the achievement of the Democratic hosts. Let us then enter upon the campaign now fairly opened, each one appreciating well the part he has to perform, ready with solid front to do battle for better government, confidently, courageously, always honorably, and with a firm reliance upon the intelligence and patriotism of the American people."

When he concluded the crowd was allowed to pass in at the front door and pay its respects to the governor and retire through the side door. This was kept up for several hours. The next morning Mr. Cleveland was up at his

usual hour and at work, glad that the fuss and confusion attendant upon the nomination was over.

The nomination for the highest office in the gift of the American people entailed no cessation from labor for this sturdy Democrat. The people's servant, he felt the same necessity for honest and earnest work that he would have felt incumbent upon him had he been employed by a private firm or a public corporation. He is no holiday soldier, no make-belief laborer, dallying with his tasks as a coquette with her fan, but an energetic man anxious to give to his State the full value of his services.

On the 18th of July he visited the State Camp of Instruction, at Peekskill, to review the militia gathered at that point. Wishing to avoid a set reception and the glamour that he knew would await a Presidential candidate, if his arrival were publicly announced, he quietly dropped in on "the boys," as he called them, without notification. His sole attendants were his two charming nieces, and every effort was made to avoid any show or parade.

His train reached Roa Hook at 11:05 A. M., and he was there met by General Wylie and Adjutant General Farnsworth. A few of the country people were at the depot, but none of them seemed to recognize in the portly and dignified gentleman the chief executive of their State. A carriage with two handsome bay horses had been provided, and entering it Mr. Cleveland and his nieces were driven rapidly to the camp.

Colonel Ward, the officer of the day, had been apprised of the coming of the Governor, and he had also been notified not to vary the ordinary camp routine on his account. As the carriage bowled briskly into the main avenue of the camp and sped along the color line, a salute of twenty-one

guns, from a battery concealed in the dense woods, rang out upon the air. This device of Colonel Story to do honor to the visitors told the tale to the villagers that something unusual was going on at the quarters of the "bold soldier boys," and when some of the rustics, who had witnessed the arrival of the train, told of the party they had seen, there was a general exclamation of "Governor Cleveland."

The men were in their battalion drill, as the carriage came dashing along by the mess-room and through the square, and in a few lightning-like evolutions a line of battle was formed and with a rattling clash all came to a present arms. The line passed, the carriage was stopped, and dismounting, Mr. Cleveland assisted the young ladies to dismount, and the party disappeared in the pretty little cottage occupied by Colonel Ward as headquarters.

A short rest and then there was an adjournment to the officers' mess-room—the dining-room of the cottage—where an appetizing lunch was served. At this meal the company and regimental officers were present, and it proved quite an enjoyable affair, especially to the young ladies, who looked upon the whole affair as a delightful pic-nic. Through the many windows came the welcome breezes from the cool waters of the Hudson, giving a zest to the viands such as is rarely known at city tables.

The lunch was hardly over when a steady stream of the villagers set in and soon thronged the narrow streets and lanes of the camp. They came by boat, buck-board, buggy, carry-all, hack and wagon; all anxious to pay their respects to the man who, in addition to the fact that he was already their Governor, was almost certain to be their President. It was a scene worthy of the pencil of a Hogarth, this motley collection of modern spruceness and antique fash-

ions. There were chaises of the make of a century ago standing side by side with side-bar buggies, upon which the paint of the factory was hardly dry.

There were fine carriage horses from the famed Blue Grass Region of Kentucky, hitched near spavined steeds that even in the best of their plebian days must have looked as if of doubtful pedigree. The staring members of the human family were no less ludicrous in their comparisons. There were city belles and beaux, who were ruralizing at Peekskill, jammed in the crowd into a sort of a homogeneity with native yokels, male and female, who looked as if they might, so far as modern styles went, have settled along the Hudson anterior to the celebrated nap of Rip Van Winkle.

The officer's quarters are situated on a bluff above the noble river and here, leaning carelessly back against a giant oak, the Governor received the homage and congratulations of the eager crowd. Every one present, even to the dusky Dan Johnson, the village wit and philosopher, must be presented and have a shake of the hand from the probable President. To the trying ordeal—for it is no laughing matter to shake hands continuously for an hour or more at a stretch—the Governor submitted cheerfully and laughingly.

When the turn of the old negro, Dan Johnson, came, he shook the cordially extended hand and pausing for a moment looked earnestly and searchingly into the kindly face of Mr. Cleveland.

“Well, Daniel,” said Mr. Cleveland, “what is the matter.”

“I is jist a considerin’ der condition ob things, sah, an I wants ter ’splain dat I thinks you’s born ter be der next Preserdent ob der United States, sah!”

“You think so, do you, Daniel?” said the Governor smilingly.

“Deed I does, sah, shore!” replied the delighted dorky.

Glancing at the glittering uniform of Colonel Ward, who was standing next to him, Mr. Cleveland, with a good natured, quizzical look in his honest eyes, said “We are enlisted, Daniel, and we are going to fight it out.”

“Ef yer does, sah, yer is jist boun’ ter win the battle, now mine what I done tole yer!” said the happy old negro as he passed on. A few minutes later he was telling a local crowd, that had gathered around him, that he never felt so happy before since he first “jined der Mefodis church.” This incident is given to show the Democratic nature of the reform Governor, to whom all seem drawn by a catholic kindness that beams from his very countenance.

This impromptu reception had delayed the regular business of the day, and it was not until the trees were casting long shadows and most of the Peekskill maidens had shut down their parasols and were using them for canes, that the encampment band walked out with their instruments under their arms. Two minutes of music followed and then came the bugle call to fall in for dress parade and review. Out of the camp streets came the marching companies. Capt. Renner headed his Utica warriors; Kirby led the soldiers of Canandaigua; Lieut. Scott guided the boys from Watertown, and Sam. Foster had his eye on the pride of Troy. Joe Dickie swung his Newburg braves into line, followed by Andy Budlong’s Mohawk men in blue, and Barnie with the hope and glory of Malone keeping step to the music. The men were turned out 700 strong and looked as brave and gallant as good soldiers only can look who have had a

good sleep on a warm summer afternoon and know they are going home to-morrow.

They have not all as yet got the regular State uniforms. Some of them wore blue pantaloons and some grey, but all were alike in point of neatness and precision.

The men formed on a square and were reviewed by the Governor. He stood under a tree on the right and kept his eyes steadily fixed on the men. When the review was over he declared that he had never before passed a pleasanter fifteen minutes than in watching the future defenders of the country.

There was hardly room for the two bay horses to drag the carriage down to Roa Hook in time for the 7.15 train. Along the hills ladies waved their handkerchiefs and threw him smiles from green bowers along the road. Laborers and farmers lifted their hats to him and shouted with a loyal will "for Gov. Cleveland." The yokels of the morning had added hundreds to their numbers in the afternoon, and although it is a sad thing to say, the two pretty nieces were shadowed by the portly form of the Governor. When he stepped into the train a cheer that shook the woods was heard, and when the engine jumped forward there was another and another yet until the bobbing red light on the rear car swung around a turn in the road.

CHAPTER XXII.

GOVERNOR CLEVELAND'S EXPERIENCE.

WASHINGTON'S WANT OF EXPERIENCE.—CLEVELAND'S FITNESS FOR THE PRESIDENCY.—DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT.—QUALIFICATIONS REQUIRED.—JUDGE AND EXECUTOR.—LAWYER, MAYOR AND GOVERNOR.—A DIFFICULT OFFICE TO FILL ACCEPTABLY.—REPUBLICAN TESTIMONY IN FAVOR OF CLEVELAND.—THE NEW YORK HERALD.—BLAINE-LOGAN STAR-ROUTERS.—THE JAY GOULD TICKET.—EVIL ELEMENTS.—THE NEW YORK TIMES.—A TRIBUTE TO CLEVELAND.—WHAT HE HAS ALREADY ACCOMPLISHED.—HARPER'S WEEKLY.—ABSOLUTE OFFICIAL INTEGRITY.—PASSPORT TO CONFIDENCE.—A FIRM, CLEAN AND INDEPENDENT OFFICER.—DEVOTION TO DUTY.—THE COUNTRY'S DEMAND FOR AN HONEST CANDIDATE.—OTHER REPUBLICAN INSURGENTS.—TRUE SOLUTION OF ACTION.—FEARLESS VOTERS.—OPPOSITION TO DEMAGOGUES.

Amongst other things alleged against Mr. Cleveland by some of his detractors, is a want of experience. Such an objection is not only silly, but false, unless it applies to his want of experience as President of the United States. If this is the want of experience meant, it is one that was common to Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, when they went into the office for their first terms. If it applies to his want of the experience that fits a man for the judicious exercise of the Presidential powers, it is unqualifiedly false.

Certainly for twenty-five years no man has taken the Presidential chair, who, from the nature of his previous duties and occupations, was as well fitted as Grover Cleveland to properly fill it. It must be remembered that the Presidency is merely the chief executive office of the United States, and that a sound, cool judgment and strict integrity

alone are needed to fill it creditably. The President originates no bills, nor measures; he shapes no national legislation; he dictates no foreign policy; in short, he is but the judge and executor of the will of the people as expressed in Congress by their Representatives and Senators.

If called upon to decide what powers of mind were most necessary in this office, there is not a jurist nor statesman in the land who would not say that calmness of judgment, firmness of action and unimpeachable integrity are the three great requisites. This being the case, where can they be found in stronger combination than in Grover Cleveland? What man of our day—Samuel J. Tilden not excepted—has displayed them in a more marked degree?

The experience of Mr. Cleveland, also, is all in his favor. First, we have his study of the law, absolutely necessary to all statecraft, then his services as chief executive officer of Buffalo, and finally in the more difficult role of chief executive of the State of New York. Of his last office a distinguished Republican politician has put it upon record as “the most difficult office in the United States to fill with credit and anything like general acceptance. It is cursed with savage party factions to be conciliated, with a bitterly hostile opposition, and subjected to the daily criticisms of the ablest and most intelligent press in the world.”

Whether Mr. Cleveland filled this post to the satisfaction of friends and foes we need go no further than the leading Republican and Independent papers to ascertain. The “New York Herald” says:

“It is a natural consequence that the ticket nominated by the efforts and money of unpunished Star Routers should gather to itself the support of the Jay Goulds, the speculators and gamblers on the one side, and on the other of fili-

busters, dynamiters, contractors and adventurers of all kinds. It is upon the support of these classes that the Blain-Logan men openly count for success. It is these they openly court, believing that with their votes they can override the moral and patriotic sentiment of the country. The Democrats have nominated good men upon a good platform. It deserves the support of all honest citizens, regardless of old party affiliations. The men who have seized control of the Republican organization are not true Republicans. They would be disowned with contempt and horror by the founders of that party—by the Lincolns, Searsons, Chases, Sumners and Wades. They are rejected by honorable Republicans all over the land. To vote for Grover Cleveland is to vote against the worst conspiracy of corrupt and evil elements this country has ever heard appealing for votes to give it control of the Treasury and the opportunity to misgovern.”

The “New York Times” has the following editorial:

“The advance of Grover Cleveland of Buffalo in the last three years to his present conspicuous place before the country, has been due solely to the unswerving fidelity of the man to a high sense of duty in public position. A successful lawyer and a respected citizen, who had held such positions as Assistant District Attorney and Sheriff of his county acceptably, he was made a candidate for Mayor of Buffalo at a time when a man was wanted for the place whose name alone would mean reform—a man of such unquestioned ability, such undoubted integrity, and such unimpeachable independence and courage that his election could mean nothing but reform. The result justified the selection, not only in success at the polls, but in the spirit of the administration which followed. The same qualities

and their practical illustration in the Buffalo mayoralty led to Mr. Cleveland's nomination for Governor of the State without any seeking of his own, and the same popular confidence elicited by such qualities was displayed in the State canvass of 1882. In the office of Governor of the largest and richest State of the Union, Mr. Cleveland has risen to the full measure of its requirements in administrative capacity, and has maintained, under the full pressure of partisan schemers and self-seekers—the strongest, perhaps, anywhere exerted in the country—his exalted views of public duties, his integrity of action, and his unflinching independence and courage. This it is that has attracted so many eyes to him at this juncture as the fittest man for the presidency, although he has never taken a conspicuous part in party councils and has never been associated with official life at the Capitol of the Union.

“It was the year 1881 that brought Mr. Cleveland into his first public prominence of special importance. Buffalo had been badly ruled by a ring of Republican politicians, and the conscience of the party had revolted against it, when the Democrats, conscious of the fine reputation Mr. Cleveland enjoyed for uprightness of character, and seeing their opportunity, called him out from his retirement from politics to be their candidate for Mayor of the city. Buffalo is usually Republican by from 2,000 to 5,000 majority, and Mr. Cleveland's election on the Democratic ticket by a majority of 5,000 was simply a tribute to his personal popularity and personal integrity, above all to his personal integrity. His conduct in office merely strengthened the firm hold he had on the confidence of the public of Buffalo. He put his veto foot squarely upon all jobs that came in his way, whether they originated among Democrats in the

board of aldermen or among Republicans. His reputation for these acts soon spread beyond the borders of Buffalo, and in September, 1882, he was nominated by the Democrats for Governor of New York, to be elected in November by the phenomenal majority that has been roughly put at 200,000.

“Mr. Cleveland went to Albany just before the beginning of 1883 to assume the office of Governor in the most quiet and unostentatious manner. On the day of his inauguration, he walked to the Capitol and avoided all appearance of parade. His address evinced a deep sense of the responsibility which had come upon him, and a distrust of his ability to meet it fully, coupled with an evident determination to do his best. He was obliged at once to address the Legislature and to face the requirements of its action. One of his first acts was to appoint the railroad commissioners provided for by the law passed the year before. The admirable character of his selections showed his judgment of men and of their fitness for special duties. The same characteristic was displayed, as well as a conscientious disregard of mere partisan considerations in the important appointments which came later in the session. In naming Mr. Shanahan as superintendent of public works, Mr. Perry as commissioner of the new Capitol and Mr. Andrews as superintendent of the Capitol building, he disregarded political influence and looked to fitness alone. In advancing Assistant Superintendent McCall to the head of the insurance department, he exemplified the principle of civil service reform, to which he was fully committed. In his letter of acceptance he had said:

“Subordinates in public place should be selected and retained for their efficiency and not because they may be

used to accomplish partisan ends. The people have a right to demand here, as in cases of private employment, that their money be paid to those who will render the best service in return, and that the appointment to and tenure of such places should depend upon ability and merit. If the clerks and assistants in public departments were paid the same compensation and required to do the same amount of work as those employed in prudently conducted private establishments, the anxiety to hold these public places would be much diminished and the cause of civil service reform materially aided. The expenditure of money to influence the action of the people at the polls or to secure legislation is calculated to excite the gravest concern. When this pernicious agency is successfully employed a representative form of government becomes a sham, and laws passed under its baneful influence cease to protect, but are made the means by which the rights of the people are sacrificed and the public treasury despoiled. It is useless and foolish to shut our eyes to the fact that this evil exists among us, and the party which leads in an honest effort to return to better and purer methods, will receive the confidence of our citizens and secure their support. It is wilful blindness not to see that the people care but little for party obligations when they are invoked to countenance and sustain fraudulent and corrupt practices. And it is well for our country and for the purification of politics that the people, at times fully roused to danger, remind their leaders that party methods should be something more than a means used to answer the purposes of those who profit by political occupation.

“He not only acted in conformity with those sentiments in making appointments, but promptly approved the civil service reform bill which public sentiment and the persistency

of an earnest minority compelled the Legislature to pass, following it at once with a most admirable appointment of commissioners. He has aided and sustained the commission at all points in a most resolute and honest manner.

“Harper’s Weekly,” one of the most influential political agents in the United States, says in a calm, dispassioned view of the situation:

“The nomination of Governor Cleveland defines sharply the actual issue of the Presidential election of this year. He is a man whose absolute official integrity has never been questioned, who has no laborious and doubtful explanations to undertake, and who is universally known as the Governor of New York, elected by an unprecedented majority which was not partisan, and represented both the votes and the consent of an enormous body of Republicans, and who, as the Chief Executive of the State, has steadily withstood the blandishments and the threats of the worst elements of his party, and has justly earned the reputation of a courageous, independent, and efficient friend and promoter of administrative reform. His name has become that of the especial representative among our public men of the integrity, purity and economy of administration, which are the objects of the most intelligent and patriotic citizens. The bitter and furious hostility of Tammany Hall and of General Butler to Governor Cleveland is his passport to the confidence of good men, and the general conviction that Tammany will do all that it can to defeat him will be an additional incentive to the voters who cannot support Mr. Blaine, and who are unwilling not to vote at all, to secure the election of a candidate whom the political rings and the party traders instinctively hate and unitedly oppose.”

“So firm and clean and independent in his high office has Governor Cleveland shown himself to be, that he is denounced as not being a Democrat, by his Democratic opponents. This denunciation springs from the fact that he has not hesitated to prefer the public welfare to the mere interest of his party. Last autumn, when the Democratic District Attorney of Queens County was charged with misconduct, the Governor heard the accusation and the defense, and decided that it was his duty to remove the officer. He was asked by his party friends to defer the removal until after the election, as otherwise the party would lose the district by the opposition of the attorney’s friends. The Governor understood his duty, and removed the officer some days before the election, and the party did lose the district. This kind of courage and devotion to public duty in the teeth of the most virulent opposition of traders of his own party is unusual in any public man, and it shows precisely the executive quality which is demanded at a time when every form of speculation and fraud presses upon the public Treasury under the specious plea of party advantage.

“The argument that in an election it is not a man but a party that is supported, and that the Democratic party is less to be trusted than the Republican, is futile at a time when the Republican party has nominated a candidate whom a great body of the most conscientious Republicans cannot support, and the Democratic party has nominated a candidate whom a great body of the most venal Democrats practically bolt. Distrust of the Democratic party springs from the conduct of the very Democrats who madly oppose Governor Cleveland because they know that they cannot use him. The mere party argument is vain also because no honorable man will be whipped in to vote for a candidate whom he be-

lieves to be personally disqualified for the Presidency on the ground that a party ought to be sustained. No honest Republican would sustain his party for such a reason, and the honest Republicans who propose to vote for Mr. Blaine will do so because they do not believe, as the protesting Republicans do believe, that he made his official action subserve a personal advantage. Nothing is more hopeless than an attempt to persuade such Republicans to sustain their party by voting for an unworthy candidate. Should they help to reward such a candidate by conferring upon him the highest official honor in the world, they could not reasonably expect the nomination of a worthier candidate at the next election, and they could not consistently oppose the election of any candidate whom their party might select. The time to defeat unfit nominations is when they are made, not next time. The nomination of Governor Cleveland is due not so much to the preference of his party as to the general demand of the country for a candidacy which stands for precisely the qualities and services which are associated with his name.

Hundreds of similar extracts from the "New York Evening Post," "The Boston Advertiser," "The Boston Transcript," "The Chicago Tribune," "The Independent," "The Christian Union," "The Congregationalist" and other ably edited and widely influential Republican papers might be given. To say that this is mere editorial opinion is to say that the editors and publishers of these papers are fools, for what paper would dare to gratify the personal feelings of its editor at the expense of its advertising patronage and its subscription list?

The better and by far the truest way to account for this defection is to observe the dissatisfaction of the thinking

and reading masses of the Republican party, the honest and patriotic minority (in numbers, but majority in intelligence) who believe in the country first and party afterward and who will not be made the tool of such demagogues and corruptionists as were placed on their ticket by the strikers and henchmen who engineer nominations at the expense of the honest voters of the party.

These men, though sturdy Republicans and having only the good of their party and the country at heart, have determined to flock to the standard of those who, while party enemies, are also the enemies of fraud and corruption. They have not deserted their party or its true principles, but have turned their backs upon its infamy and corruption.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE MANTLE OF TILDEN.

WITHOUT FEAR AND WITHOUT REPROACH.—ROLD YET CAREFUL.—
 NOT A POLICY MAN.—AN ANGLICISED AMERICAN MINISTER.—
 HIS ABANDONMENT OF AMERICAN CITIZENS.—AN INDIGNATION
 MEETING.—MR. CLEVELAND PRESIDES.—RIGHTS OF CITIZENS.
 —MUST BE PROTECTED.—FOREIGN BORN CITIZENS.—FUNDA-
 MENTAL LAWS.—AN UNDAUNTED APOSTLE.—STATESMANLIKE
 VIEWS.—A MAN INDEED.—MR. CLEVELAND AND TAMMANY.—
 THE KELLY LETTER.—A BRACE OF UNSCRUPULOUS CHARACTERS.
 —HAMPERED BY GRADY.—IMMACULATELY HONEST.—IN SYM-
 PATHY WITH REFORMS.—CAREFUL STUDY.—MR. CLEVELAND'S
 DEMOCRATIC HABITS.—GENIAL AND APPROACHABLE.

Upon the shoulders of Grover Cleveland fell the mantle of Samuel J. Tilden, and it could have descended to no worthier follower. Mr. Tilden had no more worthily filled the gubernatorial office of the Empire State than has Mr. Cleveland. He encountered no more active nor unscrupulous enemies, nor was his courage more unflinching. His efforts for honesty and reform were no more constant nor successful than have been those of the reform Mayor of Buffalo. In their incorruptibility the two men have been noble parallels, the grandest of modern politics.

Doubtful in nothing, Mr. Cleveland has boldly put himself on record upon all of the great questions of the day. Having nothing to palliate or defend he has not hesitated to speak out honestly and independently. No reasons of policy have ever been sufficiently powerful with him to cause him to do an unjust act, or to utter a hypocritical word. If he thought a thing was right, he did it or said it without other consideration than its justice.

When our anglicised minister to England, Mr. Lowell, with the true subserviency that characterizes his party in all its foreign policy, had abandoned the American citizens imprisoned in Ireland without formal accusation, trial or conviction, public indignation led to the calling of mass meetings to protest against his cowardly, truckling course. At one held in Buffalo April 9th, 1882, Mr. Cleveland, the newly elected Mayor, presided. On taking the chair he delivered the following address, which is certainly as frank and outspoken an utterance in regard to the duties of the American Government to its citizens abroad as any one need ask for:

“FELLOW CITIZENS—This is the formal mode of address on occasions of this kind, but I think we seldom realize fully its meaning or how valuable a thing it is to be a citizen. From the earliest civilization to be a citizen has been to be a free man, endowed with certain privileges and advantages and entitled to the full protection of the State. The defense and protection of personal rights of its citizens has always been the paramount and most important duty of a free, enlightened government. And perhaps no government has this sacred trust more in its keeping than this—the best and freest of them all—for here the people who are to be protected are the source of those powers which they delegate upon the express compact that the citizen shall be protected. For this purpose we choose those who for the time being shall manage the machinery which we have set up for our defense and safety.

“And this protection adheres to us in all lands and places as an incident of citizenship. Let but the weight of a sacreligious hand be put upon this sacred thing and a great,

strong government springs to its feet to avenge the wrong. Thus it is that the native-born American citizen enjoys his birthrights. But when, in the westward march of empire, this nation was founded and took root, we beckoned to the Old World and invited hither its immigration and provided a mode by which those who sought a home among us might become our fellow-citizens. They came by thousands and hundreds of thousands; they came and

‘Hewed the dark old woods away,
And gave the virgin fields to day;’

they came with strong sinews and brawny arms to aid in the growth and progress of a new country; they came and upon our alters laid their fealty and submission; they came to our temples of justice and under the solemnity of an oath renounced all allegiance to every other State, potentate and sovereignty, and surrendered to us all the duty pertaining to such allegiance. We have accepted their fealty and invited them to surrender the protection of their native land.

“And what should be given them in return? Manifestly, good faith and every dictate of honor demands that we give them the same liberty and protection here and elsewhere which we vouchsafe to our native-born citizens. And that this has been accorded to them is the crowning glory of American institutions. It needed not the statute, which is now the law of the land, declaring that ‘all naturalized citizens while in foreign lands are entitled to and shall receive from this government the same protection of person and property which is accorded to native-born citizens,’ to voice the policy of our nation.

“In all lands where the semblance of liberty is preserved, the right of a person arrested, to a speedy accusation and

trial is, or ought to be, a fundamental law as it is a rule of civilization. At any rate, we hold it to be so, and this is one of the rights which we undertake to guarantee to any native-born or naturalized citizen of ours, whether he be imprisoned by order of the Czar of Russia or under the pretext of a law administered for the benefit of the landed aristocracy of England. We do not claim to make laws for other foreign countries, but we do insist that whatsoever those laws may be, they shall, in the interests of human freedom and the rights of mankind, so far as they involve the liberty of our citizens, be speedily administered. We have a right to say, and do say, that mere suspicion without examination on trial is not sufficient to justify the long imprisonment of a citizen of America. Other nations may permit their citizens to be thus imprisoned. Ours will not. And this in effect has been solemnly declared by statute.

“We have met here to-night to consider this subject and inquire into the cause and the reasons and the justice of the imprisonment of certain of our fellow-citizens now held in British prisons without the semblance of a trial or legal examination. Our law declares that the government shall act in such cases. But the people are the creators of the government. The undaunted apostle of the Christian religion, imprisoned and persecuted, appealing centuries ago to the Roman law and the rights of Roman citizenship, boldly demanded: ‘Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman and uncondemned?’ So, too, might we ask, appealing to the law of our land and the laws of civilization: ‘Is it lawful that these, our fellows, be imprisoned, who are American citizens and uncondemned?’ I deem it an honor to be called upon to preside at such a meeting and I thank you for it. What is your further pleasure?”

These are statesman-like views, expressed in a dignified and decided manner. In his carefully worded utterances there are no glittering generalities, no blatant demagogism. Everywhere we see the cool head of the lawyer and the statesman, and the warm heart of the true American citizen that cannot bow to prestige and to power. The man who speaks in such a strain as this may be relied on to accomplish what he says, for words with him are not mere empty sounds that have no weight, nor meaning, and are but used to conceal rather than display thought and purpose.

At the close of the session of 1883 Mr. Cleveland came for the first time in direct collision with the power of Tammany. He had made a number of appointments, chiefly affecting New York city, among them commissioner of emigration, quarantine commissioners and harbor-masters. These were not pleasing to Tammany, and were attacked, especially by Senator Grady. The Governor sent a communication to the Senate urging the importance of disposing of these appointments before the session closed, and reflecting indirectly upon the motive of the opposition. This drew from Grady a bitter tirade against the Governor, and the Legislature adjourned without a confirmation of the appointments. As the political canvass of last year came on, Gov. Cleveland wrote a personal letter to John Kelley, conveying to the Tammany "boss" his wish that Grady should not be sent again to the Senate, recognizing the unquestionable fact that Kelley was the dispenser of nominations in Tammany hall, and placing his objections not only on the ground of his own comfort, but of the public interest. These incidents sufficiently indicate the occasion of Tammany's hostility to the Governor and of Grady's special hatred for him.

This was the famous letter of which so much has been said; it is the mole-hill out of which a mountain has been sought to be made. It was a private letter, written in confidence to Mr. Kelly, who had answered him that he was and ever would be his earnest supporter in all measures of political reform. An honorable man himself, Governor Cleveland gave credence to the most disgustingly dishonest and unscrupulous demagogue that ever infested and polluted American politics—Ben Butler not even excepted—and in a friendly spirit wrote to him that he was hampered and hindered by Mr. Grady, whom in the interests of honesty and reform he did not wish returned to the Senate. There was nothing in the letter that the world might not have seen, and its whole tenor was immaculately honest and could injure no one, save the disreputable creatures who sought to make capital out of it.

During the late session of the Legislature the Governor's attitude throughout was one of sympathy and support for the effort to reform the methods of municipal administration in that city and to extend the operation of the State civil service laws. It was known from the start that he was in sympathy with the work in which Senators Gibbs and Robb and Assemblyman Roosevelt and others took a leading part, though the opposition to it was chiefly in his own party. He made valuable suggestions, met everyone with frankness, and gave his approval without hesitation to all the reform bills that were placed before him in reasonably perfect shape or in time to have defects remedied. He continued the practice of studying every measure carefully and disapproving, without thinking of personal or political effect, those which, in his judgment, ought not to become laws. He scrutinized appropriations with special care, and

his excision of items from the supply bills showed his discriminating economy and his relentless keenness in scenting out jobs. Mr. Cleveland's character as Governor has been one of unremitting hard work and faithful devotion to public duty. He has shirked nothing, proved unequal to no requirement, and never lost sight of the rule of action which he laid down as Mayor of Buffalo in a communication to the Common Council with the contents of which the reader is already familiar. No man has exhibited less of ostentation, has been so democratic in his modes and habits as Governor Cleveland. Many a village post-master and the bulk of the most trivial officials of the various Custom Houses throughout the country are more difficult of approach and less genial of manner than New York's Democratic Governor.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE FUTURE OF AMERICA.

SWEEPING REFORMS NEEDED.—THE BREWSTERS AND BLISSES.—THE ROBESONS AND CHANDLERS.—NAVAL JOBS.—A PHANTOM NAVY.—A DISMAL PROSPECT.—A DEMOCRATIC NAVY OR NONE.—“FOR THE HEATHEN.”—AN APT ILLUSTRATION.—TONS OF GOLD SQUANDERED.—A PROTECTING PARTY.—A PERTINENT QUESTION.—COMPARATIVE STATISTICS.—A VANISHED MERCHANT MARINE.—PROTECTING AMERICAN LABOR.—MONOPOLY VERSUS LABOR.—A REPUBLICAN BUGABOO.—COL. HIGGINSON’S SPEECH.—A REPUBLICAN ESTIMATE OF DEMOCRACY.—ITS HONEST CANDIDATES.—THE NAME OF CLEVELAND.—A NOBLE STANDARD BEARER.—DEATHLESS DEMOCRATIC LAURELS.—AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.—A PROUD TITLE.

Should Mr. Cleveland be elected President of the United States in November, does anyone believe that the thievery, which characterizes all of the departments of the Government to-day, would be allowed to continue? Would hundreds of thousands of dollars be given to the Brewsters and Blisses to delay and defeat justice? Even could a Democratic official or Congressman descend to robbery in office, does anyone, who has noticed the course of the Mayor of Buffalo and Governor of New York, believe that he would be shielded from prosecution?

Does anyone believe that under his administration the naval jobbery of the Robesons and Chandlers could continue for a single day? In this connection let us look at a few of the figures which mathematicians say cannot lie. In order to give a job to some of his creatures the Secretary ordered the breaking up of the Connecticut and Canandai-gua, two vessels that had outlived their usefulness—if they

ever had any. The cost of breaking up the Connecticut was \$18,743; the estimated value of the material secured \$13,000, a loss of nearly \$5,000.

To break up the Canandaigua cost \$9,200, and the estimated value of her material is only \$6,700; causing the Government a loss of \$7,500 to get rid of the two vessels. Suppose they had been given away, the Government would have been \$7,500 the richer. Had they been towed out to sea and sunk, that would have cost but a trifle for the towing; or better still, they might have been taken out of the course of mercantile vessels and with anchor apeak, all sails set, ensign flying and helm lashed fast, turned adrift to roam the ocean, the phantom of what, under Democratic rule, had been a gallant navy, breasting the foaming billows of every sea and inspiring the nations of the earth with respect and admiration for the starry banner that made their decks the hallowed ground of freedom.

This is but one instance of Republican want of capacity in everything pertaining to naval matters. For twenty-three years having control of the government and spending hundreds of millions of dollars upon the navy, they have to-day not a single first-class vessel. Give them control for fifty, five hundred, a thousand years and at the end of that time we should find a navy able to cope only with that of Liberia, the Sandwich Islands, or some of the nations of Central Africa.

To have a navy we must put the Democrats in power, and there may come again the good old days of Perry, Ingraham and Tatnall, but under Republican rule we shall never see it. A gentleman once wrapped a copper cent in a dollar bill and dropped it into a contribution box, which was labelled, "For The Heathen." Being asked the cause

of his action he replied "The cent, you know, is for the heathen, the dollar is to get it to them." In naval affairs the cent well represents the amount that goes to our navy, while the dollar is the percentage that sticks to the hands of the Secretaries, the Roaches and other pet contractors.

Does anyone believe that, under the administration of such Democrats as Mr. Cleveland, over \$700,000,000 would be spent for the navy in twenty-two years, without more to show for it than we have now? Just think of 21,875 tons of gold—43,750,000 pounds of the precious metal—expended for a navy that does not begin to compare with that of Italy or Spain. Were it not for the infamy and disgrace of the thing it would be ludicrous to think of the millions of pounds of gold which the few fifth-rate hulks of the American navy represent. Supposing a skilled laborer to make \$4 per day, this represents the day's labor of 175,000,000 mechanics.

Is it not about time for a return to the simpler and more honest methods of Democratic rule? Let American "suspects," rotting in foreign prisons, or American citizens, serving out a term of conscription in foreign armies, be called upon to answer these questions. How earnestly they would pray for the restoration of the party that alone has the courage, the desire and the ability to protect them. A twenty-three years trial of the Republican party has demonstrated its inability or want of desire to make American citizenship feared or respected abroad.

"But are we to expect this honesty and fearlessness in the Democratic party?" some may ask. We can only judge the future by the past and the past of the grand old party is an open book, where he who runs may read. Prior to 1861 what nation on earth dared to treat an American citizen with

contumely? And yet the Democrats spent on the navy but \$9,000,000 to \$12,000,000 yearly, against \$14,000,000 to \$30,000,000 that the Republicans have spent. Under Democratic rule, the navy continually increased in efficacy and kept pace with those of European nations. Under Republican rule the navy has steadily deteriorated, and to-day it is but a mere pretence.

Where now is the vast merchant marine of Democratic days? Gone, protected out of existence by a beneficent high tariff enacted by the Republican party for the benefit of a few such creatures as Roach. And what is their high tariff protection but special legislation, oppressing the many for the benefit of the few? Carpenters are not protected; blacksmiths are not protected; brick-makers are not protected; cabinet-makers are not protected; shoemakers, tailors, seamstresses, plasterers, farmers, farm-laborers, hod-carriers, teamsters and common laborers are not protected. These and other classes of unprotected workers in the West constitute nine-tenths of the whole laboring population—and they are not only not protected, but are taxed on the clothing they wear, the houses they live in, the sugar and salt they eat and the tools they work with for the benefit of the selected few who are protected.

The protected labor is that which is employed in large factories, furnaces, mills and lumbering establishments—and these are found chiefly in the East. The million laborers engaged in raising cotton are not protected in their business, but they are taxed on the iron ties with which their cotton bales are bound. The half million persons engaged in breeding and feeding cattle and dairying are not protected, but they are taxed on the salt they so largely use in their business. The several million

persons engaged in raising grain and grass are not protected, but they are taxed on every article of clothing they buy, for the benefit of others.

The Republican pretence of protecting American labor by means of high duties on imported goods is, therefore, a humbug and fraud. Their system protects certain kinds of labor, but at the expense of all other kinds. It taxes five farm-workers in the West for the benefit of one iron-worker in the East. It taxes every carpenter in the country for the benefit of the saw-mill laborer in Michigan—every blacksmith in the land for the benefit of the steel manufacturer in Pennsylvania; every day-laborer who wears an undershirt for the benefit of the knit goods manufacturer in New England, and every stove-moulder for the benefit of the iron-monger in Pennsylvania. The system is the very reverse of protection to American labor. It is taxation of the mass of American labor for the advantage of the manufacturing capitalists who employ one-tenth of it.

Not that a Democratic administration could afford to be violently revolutionary and at once do away with the tariff. This would not be fair to those who have been led to invest large capital in various protected enterprises, but the reduction, though gradual, would be sure—millions of dollars would thus be yearly diverted from the treasure chests of vast monopolies and would flow into the pockets of American laborers.

The attempts of Republican demagogues to frighten the masses of the people with the cry that the Democratic party is not safe are too silly to require denial, still, an extract from the speech of Col. T. W. Higginson, at a Boston Republican meeting, may not be amiss. He says:

“I am not afraid that the Democratic party, which, with

all its faults, has at least had common-sense enough for this; that it has not for years back, ever since the war, at least, nominated for President any man who was not at the time, at least, supposed to be of unstained character—I am not afraid that that Democratic party has so utterly lost its head that it is going to make a fool of itself now. When it nominated McCiellan, or Greeley, or Hancock we voted against them on their politics. We objected to their position. Who threw a stone at the integrity and manhood of the men? Tilden himself was nominated by them, and, as they think, elected—was nominated on his record as Governor of New York. He was nominated as representing the reform element of the party. And the party that can train governors by teaching them to reform New York, and then promote them for the nomination for President, why, such a party is not one for us to shrink from, whether that Governor's name be Tilden of the past, or Cleveland in the present.”

He was right—the very name of Cleveland carries with it an assurance of honesty and reform. He needs no panegyric of words, his faithful service to his fellow citizens is the grandest encomium to which any statesman of modern days can point. True to every trust, competent for any position, simple and unpretending as a man, grand and incorruptible as an official, the Democratic party has ennobled itself and added a fresh luster to its deathless laurels by selecting as its standard bearer Grover Cleveland, the lawyer, the statesman, the patriot and the reformer.

With him at the helm, how can the grand old ship of State go wrong? Filled with national wealth beyond the wildest dream of philosopher or economist, her sails swelled with the breezes of popularity and peace, her course over

the stormless seas of honesty and reform, America shall take her proper position amongst the nations, her sphere exalted and her citizenship a prouder title than that of ancient Rome.

Such language as this is the most convincing proof we can have of the stability of our institutions founded upon and controlled by the votes of freemen. As long as there exists in the minds of our citizens this independence of partisanship, when partisanship degenerates into fraud and crime, so long the Republic is safe from anarchy and overthrow.



J. A. Hendricks

THOMAS A. HENDRICKS.

CHAPTER I.

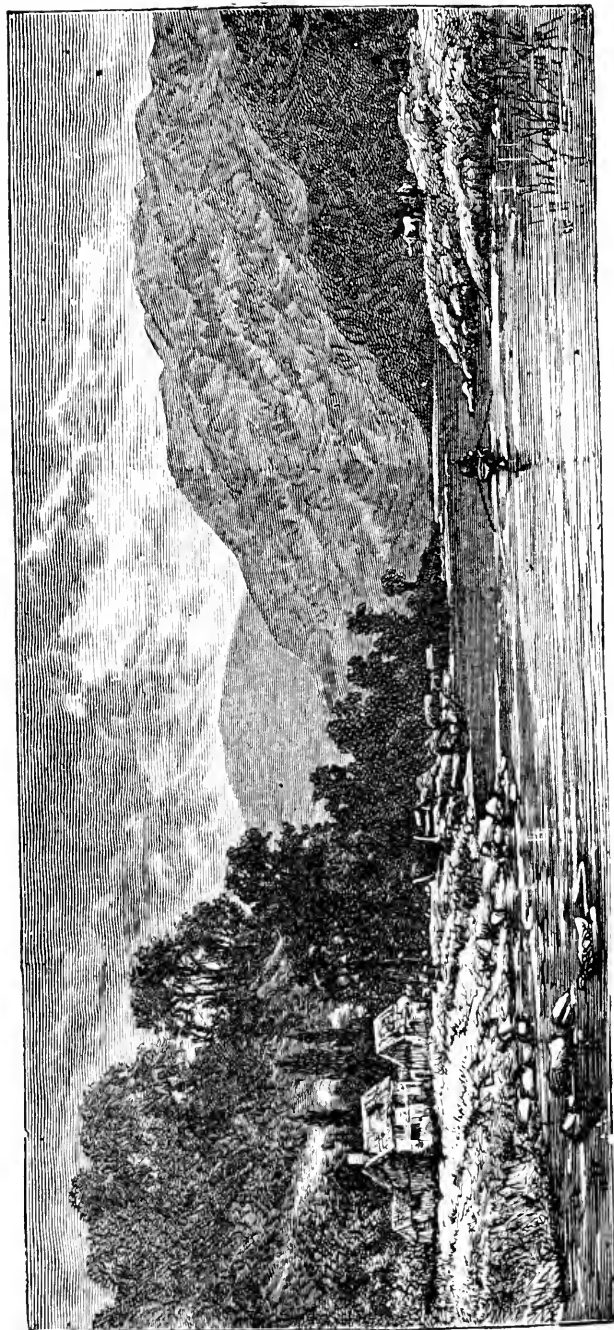
THOMAS A. HENDRICKS—HIS BIRTH AND ANCESTRY.

A TICKET ALL HEAD.—A GRAND CONVENTION.—HENDRICKS' FATHER.—AN ABLE MAN.—A NOBLE MOTHER.—HER ANCESTRY.—A SCOTCH IMMIGRATION.—WASHINGTON'S SOLDIERS.—ON TO THE WEST.—THE REMOVAL TO MADISON.—WILLIAM HENDRICKS.—A NOTED MAN.—HIS PUBLIC SERVICES.—HENDRICKS' HAPPY DAYS.—A GRAND EXAMPLE.—"OLD HICKORY'S" APPOINTMENT.—A CELEBRATED MANSION.—GENUINE HOSPITALITY.—A SOCIAL MECCA.—SUPERIOR PEOPLE.—SILENT FRIENDS.—HOME LIFE OF HENDRICKS.—FINE QUALITIES BLENDED.—PATRIOTIC PARALLELS.—SPARTAN SIMPLICITY.—CONSIDERATE MAGNANIMITY.

When some one, who had not yet seen the announcement of the Democratic nomination for Vice-President, asked a full blown Democrat what was the tail of the Democratic ticket, he replied indignantly:

"Tail be blowed—there's no tail to it, its all head!" Homely as was the expression, the truth could not have been told in a more terse, epigrammatic manner. The Democracy, in the grandest political convention that the world has ever seen, named for the second place on its ticket Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, whose fame as a lawyer, a statesman and above all a patriot is world wide.

This ideal Democrat was born on a farm near Zanesville, Ohio, on the 7th day of September, 1819. His father, John Hendricks, was born in the Ligonier Valley, West-



OLD HOME OF JOHN HENDRICKS IN THE LIGONIER VALLEY.

moreland county, Pennsylvania; his father being one of the pioneer settlers of that section. John Hendricks was a man of great ability and represented his neighbors in various township and county offices, and also represented his county in the State Legislature. His tastes were simple and unambitious, and these offices invariably sought the man, not the man the office. The wife of John Hendricks, and mother of Thomas A. Hendricks, was a Miss Jane Thompson, a woman of great beauty and rare mental endowments. She was the daughter of John Thompson, a Scotchman, who immigrated to Pennsylvania before the war of the Revolution. A man of character and influence in his native land, he caused a large influx of his countrymen into Pennsylvania by a printed address, in which he pictured to them the many advantages not only of climate, soil and material wealth, but also in the grander scope and freedom of the New World. Owing to this address numbers of Scotchmen came to Pennsylvania, and by them the Cumberland valley was chiefly settled.

These men and their descendants furnished many soldiers to the armies of the immortal Washington, and contributed their mite to the success of the American armies. Many of their descendants may be found in that section to this day; but John Hendricks, not long after his marriage, concluded to try his fortunes in the farther West, and, packing his effects into good strong wagons, he turned his face toward the setting sun, and found a new location near Zanesville, Ohio.

Here the family remained some time, but when the subject of our sketch was only six months old, another removal—this time to Madison, Indiana,—was determined on. One reason for this change of location was the residence of a



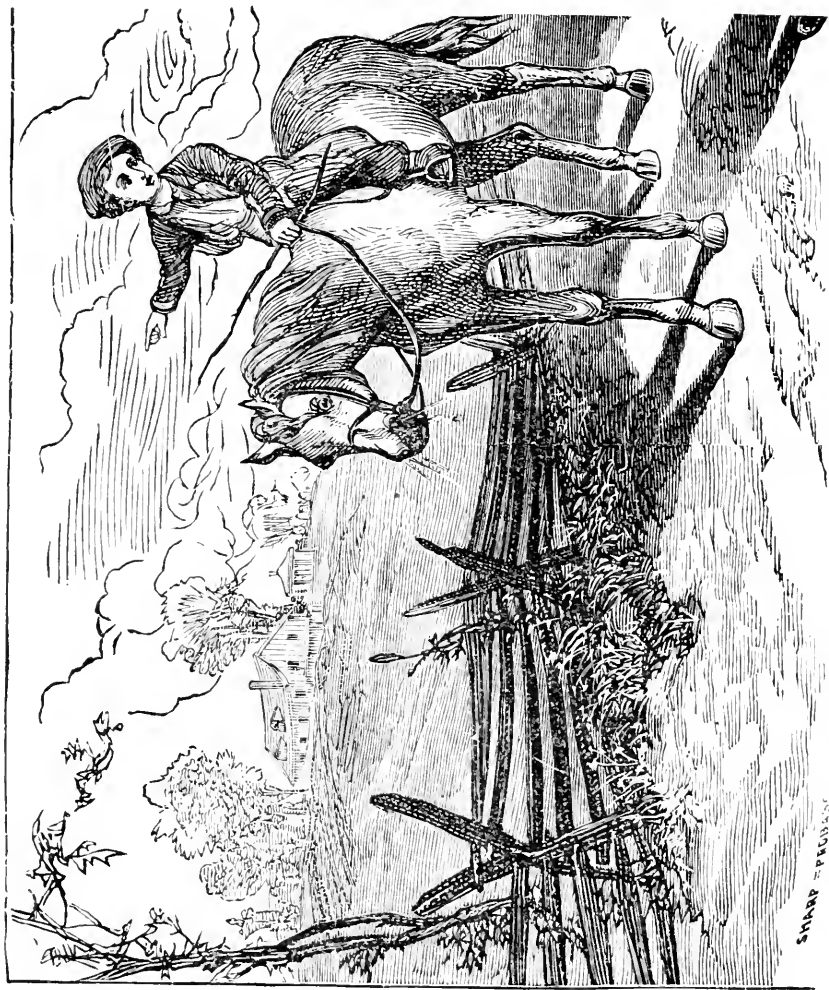
HENDRICKS' HOME AT MADISON, INDIANA.

brother of John Hendricks at Madison. This brother, William Hendricks, was a noted man in his day and generation, having represented his district in Congress, occupied the Gubernatorial chair of his State, and afterwards represented Indiana in the United States Senate. He was a man of ability and intellect, and was universally esteemed for his integrity and sterling worth.

On the banks of the lovely Ohio, Thomas A. Hendricks spent the happiest years of his life—those of his childhood—imbibing from his ancestors their noble ideas, as he had inherited from them his keen, shrewd mind and magnificent constitution. In politics he made his uncle his exemplar, and no grander one could have been selected. Like Chevalier Bayard he was truly a man without fear and without reproach; one to whose skirts nothing unclean dared attach itself, and whose devotion to duty was unbounded. The world knows whether his nephew—who sat at the feet of this Gamaliel—profited by and perpetuated these political virtues.

John Hendricks was appointed by General Andrew Jackson—"Old Hickory," as his soldiers loved to call him—as a Deputy Surveyor of Public Lands, and in this capacity he served long, faithfully and well, becoming known and respected throughout the entire State. In 1822, with characteristic American restlessness, he made another remove, locating a homestead at what is now the beautiful little city of Shelbyville. Here he built a neat brick house, which is still standing, and is an object of interest to all the admirers of the great statesman.

In its day, this was a grand mansion, and in addition to its claims as a surprisingly creditable piece of architecture for the backwoods of Indiana, it was noted far and wide as



THOMAS A. HENDRICKS' HAPPY BOYHOOD.

the seat of a lavish hospitality and a home where was centered more of education and refinement than could be found elsewhere in the country. It soon became a Mecca, to which all of the citizens of the growing young Commonwealth, who aspired to education or social station, made pilgrimage. It has been confidently asserted that every citizen of note, at that date, had been entertained in this hospitable mansion.

Everywhere the home of John Hendricks was spoken of as a model of taste, and its inmates as people of superior mental and moral endowments. Books, those speechless companions, that give so much and ask so little, that are ever ready to afford counsel, yet never obtrude themselves upon us, were there in abundance, and the time not given by the gentle mother of Thomas A. Hendricks to her children and her household affairs was spent in the well-stocked library. From her he imbibed his taste for reading, though the father was also somewhat of a bookworm, that has made the man of law a literary cosmopolite, roaming in all the boundless fields of learning.

Under this happy condition of circumstances and surroundings how could Hendricks, the boy, have ripened into anything save a man of culture, honor and honesty.

“We grow like what we look on,”

says the poet, and this boy, who had never seen in boyhood or youth any shape of vice or iniquity within his home's domain, grew to manhood's estate, serene, dignified, honorable. The firm will and unconquerable courage of the father was softened by the calm serenity and grace of the mother, and the future statesman owed to this happy blending of the two temperaments his noble equipoise of mind, his undaunted courage and devotion to justice and duty.



THE MOTHER OF THOMAS A. HENDRICKS AT HOME.

In the days of Greece's glory he would have been a Demosthenes, without the cowardice of the latter; in Rome, when Roman citizenship was the grandest of earth's titles, he would have been a Curtius leaping full armed into the gaping gulf, or a Cincinnatus resigning unsought honors for his country's good. Not even our god-like Washington, the grandest man of all time, possessed more of patriotism. The one with Spartan simplicity could turn his back upon a third term of the highest honor his country offered; the other, for the sake of dove-like peace and that the soil of his country might not be again drenched with the blood of her sons, slain in unholy civil strife, could, without a sigh, submit to the infamous theft which robbed him of a similar honor.

CHAPTER II.

“THE NOBLEST WORK OF GOD.”

THE REMOVAL TO SHELBY COUNTY.—OPENING A FOREST FARM.—RELIGION'S PIONEERS.—CARDINAL VIRTUES.—A GENUINE HOSPITALITY.—INCENSE OF PRAYER.—HAPPY SURROUNDINGS.—LASTING MORAL LESSONS.—A GRAND EXEMPLAR.—AN AMERICAN BOAST.—PREJUDICED POLITICIANS.—“THE NOBLEST ROMAN OF THEM ALL.”—AN EDUCATION COMPLETED.—ADOPTS A PROFESSION.—A LONG AND ACTIVE PRACTICE.—EARLY PUBLIC SERVICES.—FREE FROM STAIN.—PURE WITHOUT AUSTERITY.—INVOLUNTARY ADMIRATION.—DR. HINTON'S ANECDOTE.—THE TWO TOUGHS.—DESERVING OF RESPECT.—ADMITTED TO THE BAR.—RAPID SUCCESS.—LEARNING, ELOQUENCE AND ACUTENESS.—STRICT HONOR AND TRUTHFULNESS.—A LION'S WRATH.—UNLUCKY SECRETARY CHANDLER.—A SILLY LETTER WRITER.—A POOR CREATURE CHASTISED.—WILL KNOW BETTER NEXT TIME.

At the time of the removal of the father of Thomas A. Hendricks to Madison, Indiana, that was the chief city in the State and was the home of many of her most eminent men, amongst them William Hendricks an uncle of the subject of our sketch, and whose services were described in our last chapter. At Madison Major Hendricks remained until 1822, and then occurred his removal to the sparsely settled county of Shelby. Here he opened up a farm in the virgin forest, almost in the center of the county. It was upon a portion of this farm that Shelbyville, the county town, was afterward located.

The house built by Major Hendricks still stands, though it has passed out of the possession of his family. In their journeyings through the wilderness, on their Master's work, the pioneers of religion always found a hearty welcome at

this house where charity and tolerance were two of the cardinal virtues. Of the strictest sect of the Presbyterians, the hospitality of the master knew no creed, but welcomed all alike, whether Baptist or Methodist, saint or sinner. But few of the churches in that portion of the State echoed so often to the songs of praise and the incense of offered prayer as did this private dwelling.

Growing to manhood's estate in such a home as this, it is not wonderful that the influence of his surroundings is apparent in the moral texture of Thomas A. Hendricks to this day. One of the most brilliant of America's statesmen, he is the grandest exemplar of all that is pure and noble in our politics. So thorough has been his self-restraint and so clean and pure his public and private life that of him might be repeated the boast of an American in France during the administration of George Washington. Being asked if his President was really so near perfect as represented, he answered, "George Washington, as every one who knows him will concede, had none of the small vices and even Benedict Arnold wouldn't accuse him of any of the great ones."

So amongst even the most prejudiced of the Republican politicians of to-day not a word of detraction could be heard concerning either the public or private morals of the patriot statesman, Thomas A. Hendricks. And yet, with all of his purity, there is nothing of austerity; his charity for the faults of others is broad and catholic, save when the rights of the people are infringed upon, and then he is merciless. In his country's service he is "the noblest Roman of them all" and would sacrifice upon the altar of patriotism his dearest friend and partisan. About him can come nothing that is impure or unpatriotic.

After completing his education in 1841, at Hanover College—one of the earliest of the Western pioneer educational institutions—Mr. Hendricks began the study of law, for which he was peculiarly qualified, and in due time was admitted to the bar. Thus it will be seen that the nominee for the Democratic Vice-Presidency is a thorough product of the young, hardy and vigorous civilization of the West, and is identified with the West in sympathy, thought and interest.

Except the time he filled the office of Commissioner of the General Land Office and the Gubernatorial chair of Indiana, Mr. Hendricks has been engaged in the practice of his profession. His course in politics has been such, that even had he not loved the profession of his choice, he would have been forced to continue its practice. Unlike the great majority of American politicians, his hands are clean and his conscience free from a single act of bribery, or corruption. Land grabs, Indian contracts, Credit Mobiliers and Star Routes never dared with their unhallowed gains to approach this incorruptible man, and his bitterest enemies cannot point to an act that in the slightest can compromise his fair, unclouded fame.

There is a singular fact connected with this purity of morals of the Indiana statesman, and that is that even those whose vices he scourges, involuntarily admire him, so great is the nobility and attractiveness of absolute morality. Dr. Hinton, a well-known citizen of Indiana tells this anecdote illustrative of this fact. He was passing two tough looking and very drunken fellows on a street corner in Lafayette when he overheard the following colloquy shortly after the Presidential election in 1880:

“Hit’s er shame, Bill—that’s what hit is. I wouldn’t er thought yer’d er done it, bust me if I would!”

“Couldn’t help it Gus! bust me ef I could. Yer see here’s how it was—hit was er durned milertary man and er bloated banker, and I didn’t keer fur neither, but ef it had er been Guv’ner Hendricks on ther ticket, all the money in ther State wouldn’t er got my vote. Im er Radical, Gus! and er tough citizen, but even us toughs and thieves oughter have some respec fur er honest man.”

Satisfied with this eulogy of his favorite statesman, the Doctor hurried by and left the two friends drinking with Republican bribery money to the honesty of a man they could not help but admire and respect.

The date of Mr. Hendrick’s graduation was 1841, and his study of the law began immediately and continued earnestly for two years; he being admitted to practice in 1843. His success was very rapid and he soon earned a reputation second to that of no lawyer at the Indiana bar. Not only was he pure in morals and of the strictest integrity, but he was solicitous to preserve himself from even the appearance of evil and to keep unstained, even by suspicion, his upright and honorable character. In this, as the nation can testify, he has been successful.

Careful in money matters, and either not possessing, or having entirely curbed those vicious tastes and desires that lead to extravagance, he slowly accumulated a modest competence, entirely by his practice. At the bar he was distinguished by his learning, the broad scope of his information—which seems complete on every subject—his grand eloquence and the acuteness of his penetration. Courteous as any gentleman of the old school, and gracious as a grand seignor of France, woe unto the unlucky wight that called

into question any statement he might make, or any assertion he might utter.

Always cautious, he never announced a proposition or pretended to an information that he did not thoroughly possess, and when these were questioned he rose like an angry lion and turned on his foe. Luckless little Chandler, Secretary of the Navy, had a taste of this fury a few days ago when he rushed into print to deny an assertion made by Mr. Hendricks concerning certain peculations in that creature's department. The answer to the letter of the Secretary—which he had, like the petty egotist that he is, fancied conclusive—came like a stroke of lightning from an angry cloud; sharp, keen and deadly. It proved, from Chandler's own letter, that not only had the peculations been many, shameful and long continued, but even that Chandler had been cognizant of them and quiescent under, if not participant in them.

That one stroke was sufficient. The letter, which little Chandler had fondly hoped would down the Indiana giant and prove an excellent campaign document for his party, had brought only consternation and confusion, and like the prairie gopher or some other small vermin he has retired from view as a public letter-writer and is probably busy assessing the poor clerks in his department in order to buy votes with which to seek a revenge upon his mighty antagonist.

Poor little Chandler, mighty only in knavery, strong only in nefarious jobs, seek opponents amongst the ranks of the pigmies like yourself and never again dare to encounter the demigods! Looked at in a serious light the epistolary attempt of Mr. Chandler, outside of its mendacity, is one of the most ludicrous happenings of the day, and his retreat

from the wrath of Thomas A. Hendricks can only be described by the boy's account of the chipmunk which he could not catch: "The pestiferous critter went into his hole and drug the hole in after him." It is safe to say that Billy will know better next time.

There never was a finer exemplification of the truth that

"Fools rush in where angels fear to tread."

It was as though a puny boy should attack a full grown man, or a pitiful puppy essay to try conclusions with the "king of beasts."

CHAPTER III.

MR. HENDRICKS' MARRIAGE

A THRIVING LAWYER.—A TRUE HELPMET.—GOD'S LAST BEST GIFT TO MAN.—A TRUE WOMAN'S AMBITION.—A CONSTANT COMPANION.—APT SUGGESTIONS.—JOURNEYS IN EUROPE.—A NOBLE PAIR.—THE BARD OF AVON.—DEATH OF A CHILD.—STRICT CHURCH MEMBERS.—SIMPLICITY OF TASTES.—GIVING IN SECRET.—NOBLE CHRISTIAN CHARITY.—ESPECIALLY BLESSED.—SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MR. HENDRICKS.—A FUND OF INFORMATION.—MR. WOOLLEN'S ANECDOTE.—A COLLEGE POEM.—A VISIT TO THE GOVERNOR.—A CHAT ABOUT POETS.—ANONYMOUS POEMS.—THE GOVERNOR'S SCRAP-BOOKS.—AN ADMIRING VISITOR.—A CHARMING HOST.—MR. WOOLLEN'S COMMENT.—BRAINS AND BREEDING.—COSMOPOLITAN ACQUIREMENTS.

In 1845 Mr. Hendricks, then a thriving lawyer with a fine practice and a brilliant reputation, took to himself a wife. He married a Miss Eliza C. Morgan, one of those gentle and noble women who prove true helpmeets, halving all the sorrows of life and doubling its joys. She was such a one as Mrs. Barbauld aptly characters:

“O born to soothe distress and lighten care,
 Lively as soft, and innocent as fair!
 Blest with that sweet simplicity of thought
 So rarely found and never to be taught;—
 Of winning speech, endearing, artless, kind,
 The loveliest pattern of a female mind;
 Like some fair spirit from the realms of rest,
 With all her native heaven within her breast;
 So pure, so good, she scarce can guess at sin,
 But thinks the world without like that within;
 Such melting tenderness, so fond to bless,
 Her charity almost becomes excess.
 Wealth may be counted, Wisdom be revered,
 And Beauty prais'd, and brutal Strength be fear'd,
 But Goodness only can affection move,
 And love must owe its origin to love.”

Though truly feminine, Mrs. Hendricks is not without ambition, and her determination that her noble husband should not hide his light under a bushel has been no small factor in securing to the public the services of a representative whose ability is only equalled by his purity. She is a woman of fine practical sense, a thorough education and has a mind almost masculine in its grasp and vigor. She is his constant companion and is an invaluable adviser. No decisive step is taken by Mr. Hendricks without consulting the wife that is at once

“Companion, counsellor and friend.”

At his conferences with his political friends she is a familiar figure and not unfrequently her apt suggestions are gladly received and acted upon. Her woman's wit often divines by its intuition, difficulties that man's slower process of ratiocination finds trouble in solving. In his travels she is ever his companion, having twice crossed the mad surges of the Atlantic in his company and journeyed with him through the classic scenes of Europe. In the soberer title of marriage the fondness of love's first awakening has not been submerged and they are a noble pair of lovers. Well might the grandest of American statesmen quote from his favorite bard:

“She is mine own!

And I as rich in having such a jewel

As twenty seas, if all their sands were pearls,

Their waters nectar, and their rocks pure gold.”

They have no children—their only child, a noble boy, having died many years ago. Often do their hearts yearn for the child, and their eyes grow dim as they think of his bygone prattle, so sweet to parents' ears, but hand in hand they voyage life's stormy seas together, confident of a

meeting with their darling in that brighter and better land of the beyond, where death and sorrow enter not and joy and peace are eternal.

Both Mr. Hendricks and his wife are strict but not fanatical members of the Episcopal Church and they are the truest of consistent Christians. Though by no means extravagant themselves, being on the contrary distinguished by a democratic simplicity of tastes and desires, yet their generosity is unbounded and their charity universal. Not only do they give freely to organized charities, but no one in distress is ever allowed to pass them unrelieved. One who knows says that "the amount of money given every year secretly by Governor Hendricks and his wife to deserving objects of charity would suffice for the support of a family in good circumstances."

All of this is done by them in the unostentatious manner that characterizes all of their actions. There is nothing for show; no pompous ostentation of giving to be noted of men, but their charity is upon the true Christian principle of not letting the left hand know what the right hand has bestowed. Well may it be said that the surroundings of Mr. Hendricks have always been of the best. His father and mother were of the "salt of the earth," and in his noble consort he has found an exceptional companion to aid and hold him true to the high standard of public and private conduct marked out by himself.

In social life Mr. Hendricks is one of the most amiable and approachable of men; witty, genial and kindly. All who meet him are charmed by the rare graces and entertained by the immense fund of information of the Indiana statesman. No subject can be broached upon which he has not read widely and thoroughly, and he is equally at home

in poetry, politics, finance, political economy, philosophy, mechanics, or any of the other arts and sciences. A lawyer and a politician, he has not made of himself a legal or political calendar at the expense of other studies, and he is the most finished scholar and generally accomplished man of all of our statesmen.

As an example of this we will give here an anecdote furnished us by Mr. William Wesley Woollen, of Indianapolis, to whom we are indebted for much and varied information concerning Mr. Hendricks.

“In 1871 a gentleman connected with the editorial staff of a Philadelphia paper was invited by one of the Indiana colleges to deliver a poem before one of the college societies. After delivering his poem he came to Indianapolis and requested me to introduce him to Gov. Hendricks. At that time Gov. Hendricks lived south of the city a mile or so, in a very handsome home, and on reaching his house my friend and myself were received in his library by the Governor, very cordially. I introduced the gentleman to Gov. Hendricks as one connected with the Philadelphia press, who had been invited by Hanover College to deliver a poem before it. He at once entered into a conversation with my friend in relation to poetry, and for half an hour or more conversed with him almost exclusively about poetry. He talked with him about all the American ballads and pastoral poems and went into his parlor and got two scrap books and turning over their pages found several poems that were anonymous and asked the gentleman who the authors of those poems were, and in several instances their names were given. This seemed to please Mr. Hendricks very much and he made notes of each on his scrap-book and said that he and Mrs. Hendricks had often talked about those

poems and wondered who wrote them, and that Mrs. Hendricks would be delighted to know their authors, &c. In this way he took up, as I said before, half an hour or more talking upon the subject with which he supposed his guest was most familiar.

After we left, the gentleman said to me that Gov. Hendricks was a most charming man, that he was more familiar with American poets and poetry than anyone not of the literary profession he had ever met. I told him it showed the Governor's good breeding even more conspicuously than his wonderful information, for had he been an engineer, or an artist, he would have talked to him with equal facility and judgment about the mysteries of engineering, or the divine canvases of the old masters.

CHAPTER IV.

MR. HENDRICKS' PUBLIC LIFE AND SERVICES.

ELECTED TO THE LEGISLATURE.—A MEMBER OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.—GOES TO CONGRESS.—CONTINUES IN THAT BODY.—APPOINTED COMMISSIONER GENERAL LAND OFFICE.—GOES TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE.—COMMITTEES ON WHICH HE SERVED.—HIS FORCE OF CHARACTER.—HIS COURSE IN CONGRESS.—RADICAL FOLLIES AND INIQUITIES.—HIS VIEWS ON IMPORTANT MEASURES.—HIS IRRESISTIBLE LOGIC.—RACE QUESTIONS.—A SAFE POSITION.—HIS SPEECHES ACCEPTED AS DEMOCRATIC DOCTRINES.—THE IMPEACHMENT TRIAL.—REPUTATION ENHANCED.—A PARTY LEADER.—THE CONVENTION OF 1868.—A POPULAR CANDIDATE.—A STEADY INCREASE.—A DRAMATIC SCENE.—HORATIO SEYMOUR NOMINATED.—HIS SPEECH OF DECLINATION.—VALLANDINGHAM'S REPLY.—REHEARSED EFFECTS.—STATE INGRATITUDE.

Mr. Hendricks' public life and services, which have been long and varied, began in 1848, he being elected in that year a member of the Indiana State Legislature. We may judge of the estimate placed upon the services of the young lawyer while representing his county in the Legislature, when we find that in 1850 he was chosen a delegate to the Constitutional Convention which modelled the present Constitution of his State. In that body we find him an active and influential member, his speeches and suggestions being especially valuable and appreciated.

In 1851 he was chosen as a member of the Lower House, in the National Congress. As a member of Congress he represented his district continuously until 1855. In this year he was appointed Commissioner of the General Land Office, which position he held until 1859, when he resigned it. In 1860 the Republicans succeeded in carrying the State, and

Mr. Hendricks was defeated for the Governorship by Henry S. Lane. Lane was chosen as United States Senator very soon after his election, and Oliver P. Morton succeeded him in the Gubernatorial chair.

In 1862, Indiana began to realize the iniquities of Republicanism and elected a Democratic Legislature, which sent Mr. Hendricks to the United States Senate as a just tribute to his ability and purity. His term as Senator ended in the year 1869, and during its six year's continuance he served on the Committees on Claims, Public Buildings and Grounds, the Judiciary, Public Lands, and Naval Affairs. In all of these trying and responsible positions he exhibited the soundest judgment, and though of course in a hopeless minority, commanded the respect even of his political opponents by his fairness, his firmness and his thorough knowledge of the affairs entrusted to those committees.

It was at this time that the Civil Rights Bill, the Freedmen's Bureau Bill and kindred measures were being agitated by the party then in power. Against these potent iniquities and follies Mr. Hendricks assumed the leadership of the opposition and boldly pointed out their fallacies, dissecting them with the merciless scalpels of his sound logic and keen wit. He took the always safe ground that the good of the many should dominate the whimsical fancies of the few, and held that even if the Southern States had been in rebellion their prosperity was a matter of more importance to their Northern brethren than was that of the negroes.

"If," he said conclusively, "either race should go to the wall in the conflict for supremacy, it should be the black race," but he held, and very logically, too, that the very supremacy of the whites was the surest guarantee of the safety of the negroes. If white supremacy was conceded

they naturally and immediately became the protectors of their former slaves, whom nature had by no means fitted to take the lead of the Caucasians in legislation, civilization, or mastery.

If, on the contrary, it was attempted to place the whites in subjection, real, or implied, to the negroes, then the natural ambition and the spirit of mastery inherent in the Anglo-Norman people would rise and utterly crush the inferior race. "This," he said, "must be the inevitable result of attempting to reverse the decrees of God and of nature, and the Republican party would thus bring about and be responsible for the very state of affairs it pretended to dread and deplore."

In the summaries of Congressional debates, his arguments on the great questions of that period have been adopted as, and declared to be, the authoritative statements of Democratic doctrine and opinion. In the memorable impeachment proceedings and trial of Andrew Johnson, the part played by Senator Hendricks was an important one and added greatly to his reputation as an able lawyer.

Nothing is more conclusive of the reputation achieved by Mr. Hendricks during his single Senatorial term, than the fact, that what with the average man is merely a preparatory novitiate was sufficient to place him amongst the foremost men of the day, to make him a leader of his party and to bring him into prominent notice as an available candidate for the Presidency. But few public men have ever, in so short a time, played so prominent a part and gained so large a share of distinction.

In the Democratic National Convention of 1868, held at the city of New York, July 4 to July 9, although not formally put in nomination, we find Mr. Hendricks gaining

steadily from the 2 1-2 votes cast for him on the first ballot to 132 on the twenty-first ballot, and so great was the tide that set in toward the popular Senator, that had it not been for the persistent efforts of Ohio (which determined that, since her own candidate could not get the nomination, no Western man should), he would most certainly have been nominated on the twenty-second ballot.

Mr. Hendricks had gained the solid vote of New York and the entire Northwest and the others were rapidly flocking to his standard when, several ballots after Mr. Pendleton's letter of withdrawal as a candidate had been read, General McCook, of Ohio—when that State had been called to announce its vote—arose and said:

“Mr. Chairman: I arise at the unanimous request and demand of the delegation from Ohio, and with the consent and approval of every public man in the State—including the Honorable George H. Pendleton—to again place in nomination, against his inclination, but no longer against his honor, the name of Horatio Seymour, of New York. Let us vote, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Convention, for a man whom the Presidency has sought, but who has not sought the Presidency. I believe in my heart that it is the solution of the problem which has been engaging the minds of the Democrats and conservative men of this nation for the last six months.

“I believe it is the solution which will drive from power the vandals who now possess the Capitol of the nation. I believe it will receive the unanimous assent and approval of the great belt of States from the Atlantic—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois and Missouri, and away west to the Pacific ocean.

“I say that he has not sought the Presidency, and I ask

that this Convention shall demand of him that, sinking his own inclination and his own well-known desires he shall yield to what we believe to be the almost unanimous wish and desire of the delegates to this Convention. In my earnestness and enthusiasm, I had almost forgotten to cast the twenty-one votes of Ohio for Horatio Seymour."

Amidst the tremendous cheering, the President of the Convention—Hon. Horatio Seymour—advanced to the front of the stage and in the kindest terms declined the nomination. He said that he could not consistently accept of a nomination and that he greatly regretted the mention of his name in that connection. In a speech of remarkable pathos—which we may give elsewhere—he said that his honor was at stake and that while he felt grateful for the honor that had been conferred upon him yet he must beg to decline it.

"God knows," he said, "that my life and all that I value most in life I would give for the good of my country, which I believe to be identified with that of the Democratic party. I do not stand here as a man proud of his opinions, or obstinate in his purposes, but upon a question of duty and of honor, I must stand upon my own convictions against the world." He concluded by saying, "Gentlemen, I thank you, and may God bless you for your kindness to me, but your candidate I cannot be."

Hon. Thomas L. Price, of Missouri, now took the chair, and Mr. Vallandigham, of Ohio, arising said:

"Mr. President, in times of great public exigency, and especially in times of great public calamity, every personal consideration must be yielded to the public good. The safety of the people is the supreme law, and the safety of the American Republic demands the nomination of Horatio

Seymour, of New York. Ohio cannot—Ohio will not accept his declination, and her twenty-one votes shall stand recorded in his name. And now I call upon the delegations from all the States represented on this floor, upon the delegations from all the States of this Union, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the great lakes to the gulf, that, disregarding those minor considerations, which justly it may be, properly I know, tend to sway them in casting their ballots, they make this nomination unanimous, and before God I believe that in November the judgment of this Convention will be confirmed and ratified by the people of all the United States. Let the vote of Ohio stand recorded then—twenty-one votes for Horatio Seymour.”

Thus dramatically did the State of his birth—Ohio—strike down from the post of honor, the best and the brightest of all of her natal sons. Sudden and unpremeditated as this scene may seem, it had been long contemplated, and already rehearsed by the Ohio delegates.

CHAPTER V.

MR. HENDRICKS' POLITICAL LIFE.

RUNS FOR GOVERNOR.—RADICAL FRAUDS.—RUNS AHEAD OF HIS PARTY.—THE ELECTION OF 1860.—A POSTPONED HONOR.—ELECTED GOVERNOR.—A SPLENDID MAJORITY.—INDIANA NOT A DOUBTFUL STATE WHEN MR. HENDRICKS RUNS.—A RECAPITULATION OF MAJORITIES.—STEADILY GAINING IN POPULARITY.—A FACTIOUS REPUBLICAN BODY.—A NON-POLITICAL OFFICE.—THE PEOPLE DISGUSTED.—REPLACED BY DEMOCRATS.—THE BAXTER BILL REPEALED.—GOVERNOR HENDRICK'S PREFERENCE.—THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION OF 1876.—A GRAND TICKET.—TILDEN, THE SAGE, AND HENDRICKS, THE STATESMAN.—THE DAYS OF THE ANAKIM.—CREATURES OF THE OOZE AND SLIME.—SCHEMES OF ROBBERY AND CORRUPTION.—INTIMIDATION AND BRIBERY.—THE DEMOCRATIC TICKET ELECTED.—PATRIOTISM OF THE DEMOCRACY.—THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION AND THE INFAMOUS EIGHT.—PERJURED AND DISGRACED.—APPLES OF SODOM.—CRIME'S LOWEST DEEP.

In the fall of the same year Mr. Hendricks made the race for Governor of his State, and was defeated by Conrad Baker, for that office. The alleged majority of Governor Baker, now a law partner of Mr. Hendricks, was 1,161, and it was boldly asserted at the time, and never fully disproved, that this majority was far from an honest one. To show how Mr. Hendricks is regarded by all classes in his State, the majority for Grant, the same year, was 9,579; Mr. Hendricks running far ahead of his ticket.

In 1860, when defeated by Lane, the majority in favor of his opponent was only 9,757, while the majority of Mr. Lincoln over Judge Douglas was 23,524. These figures show the deservedly great popularity of Mr. Hendricks with all of the citizens of Indiana, even with those politically opposed to him. Retiring from his Senatorial office

in 1868, Mr. Hendricks resumed the practice of law in Indianapolis. In the convention of 1872, the fusion of the Democrats and Liberal Republicans postponed the placing of Mr. Hendrick's name on the national ticket.

Returning to his State, he was nominated for the Gubernatorial office, and carried the State by 1,148. This was in spite of the most lavish use of money by the administration machine, and his triumph over General Thomas M. Browne, may justly be regarded as a grand one. General Grant's majority over Mr. Greeley was 22,924, and Governor Hendricks was the only Democrat elected that year, if we except Professor Hopkins, whose office is strictly a non-political one. Thus we see that he ran ahead of his ticket by 24,072 votes.

This showing should banish all fears of those who have any doubt as to the course of Indiana in the coming Presidential contest. Not all the Star-route and naval job money that can be poured into the State will be able to seduce her citizens from the support of her greatest son and America's grandest statesman. The man who sets Indiana down upon his table of probabilities as doubtful is but a poor political prophet and can but dimly have read and interpreted her admiration for Thomas A. Hendricks.

In his first contest for Governor, when he was not so well known nor so thoroughly appreciated, and when the fury of sectional passion blinded the eyes of the people of Indiana to his purity and his ability, he was beaten by a majority of 9,757, though even then he ran far ahead of his ticket. Steadily gaining in popularity and power as his transcendent abilities became apparent, he carried the State by a majority that placed him 24,072 votes ahead of his party.

It may be set down as a safe prediction that Indiana will

never desert the cause of her favorite son, the defrauded patriot of 1876. Governor Hendricks, during his term of office as Chief Executive of his State, presided over stormy elements. As before stated, not a single Democratic officer, except himself and Professor Hopkins, Superintendent of Public Instruction, was elected, and no such factious and turbulent body ever before controlled the destinies of a Commonwealth.

The bickerings of the Republican factions were shameful, and in fact so disgusting was their conduct of affairs, that the people elected, in 1875, a Democratic Legislature to replace them. The Republicans succeeded in passing the notorious Baxter law while in power and so unanimously were the representatives in favor of the measure that in order to avoid the appearance of endeavoring to delay and defeat the will of the people, Governor Hendricks felt constrained to sign it.

The Baxter law was local option under another name, and in its stead Governor Hendricks preferred a strict license law, but he gave way to the will of the people as expressed by their representatives, even though those representatives were shameless demagogues. In 1875, when a Democratic majority controlled the Legislature, the Baxter Bill was repealed and Governor Hendricks clearly and concisely stated his views in support of a preference for a strict tax law.

In 1876 the Democracy assembled in Convention at St. Louis and selected for standard bearers the purest of her representative men. It is needless to say that these champions were Samuel J. Tilden of New York, and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana. Never since the days of the founders of the Republic; since the time of Washington, Jeffer-

son, Madison and Monroe had two such names graced a political ticket. All that was best and purest in the conduct of political affairs, all that was noblest and brightest in statesmanship, and all that was truest and most incorruptible in patriotism and moral worth found expression and portrayal in the Democratic nominees of 1876.

It was a return to the days of the giants and the demigods, upon one side at least. Upon the other were the groveling creatures of the slime and ooze of corrupt politics; of festering bribery, and of foul malfeasance and abuse of public trust. The very initial movement of the Republicans outlined the plan of their campaign. Emerging from their noisome dens, wherein they had conceived every form of public robbery and corruption, the Bradys, Dorseys, Elkins, Robesons, Chandlers, and creatures of that ilk crept forth to array themselves upon the side of injustice.

Money extorted from miserable clerks, stolen from the public treasury, filched from the naval fund, and robbed from the mail routes and post-office department was squandered in profusion. Intimidation, when it could be used, and the sneak-thieves' and bribery agents' methods when they were most powerful, were used in vain, for the people had risen against the corruptionists and determined to dash them from power. The plans of the robbers failed and Tilden and Hendricks were elected.

Now comes in the most infamous crime, the most damnable outrage, ever perpetrated by a party in which crime and outrage are its chief instruments. There was an ominous marching of troops, a concentration of the military, and to this covert threat was added the open declaration that the Republican party would seat its defeated candidates.

Dreading the precipitation of a civil war that in magnitude and barbarity would have exceeded any war ever waged and that would have left the country completely at the mercy of any foreign foe, the Democracy, hoping that there might be something of honesty, patriotism and decency left in the Republican leaders, agreed to abide by the determination of the Electoral Commission.

The result is well known. The "Infamous Eight," disregarding their oaths, their honor, patriotism and decency, and guided and controlled only by partisanship and the considerations of public plunder, installed in office a miserable creature whom they themselves afterward denounced as a paltry fraud and a contemptible object.

The golden glittering fruit that in anticipation had seemed so sweet and fair had in the consummation of their iniquity, like the cursed apples of Sodom,

"Turned to ashes on their lips."

They had perjured themselves, prostituted their high office, acted the part of traitors, thieves and villains, and they had met with a just reward. They had degraded themselves, degraded their partisans high and low, degraded the office of the Presidency and made a mock of public decency and patriotism. In all the record of crimes against public morals there is nothing to compare with this Radical infamy, this theft of the American Presidency, this debasement of the American Republic.

CHAPTER VI.

LAWYER, STATESMAN AND PATRIOT.

ARISTIDES THE JUST.—ANCIENT DEMAGOGUES.—MR. HENDRICKS' RETURN TO PRIVATE LIFE.—PRACTICING LAW.—PECULIAR FITNESS FOR HIS AVOCATION.—REVEALED MYSTERIES.—OFF-HAND OPINIONS.—THE ESSENCE OF ALL LAW.—A READY MAN.—HIS STYLE OF ARGUMENT.—SMOOTH, POWERFUL ELOQUENCE.—SERENE AND SMILING.—A FORENSIC TREAT.—GOOD NATURED SARCASM.—A CELEBRATED CASE.—THE SURPRISE SPRUNG.—MANEUVERING FOR TIME.—A STRONG POINT.—A SHREWD ADDRESS.—PROMPTITUDE AND EARNESTNESS.—A DRAMATIC SCENE.—THE JURY APPLAUDED.—MANAGEMENT OF CASES.—CIVIL AND CRIMINAL CASES.—A GENERAL PRACTITIONER.—HIS GENERAL READING.—OMNIVEROUS LITERARY TASTE.—HIS LITERARY STYLE.—EPIGRAMMATIC EXPRESSIONS.—CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.—A VERSATILE MAN.

As Aristides the Just, submitted uncomplainingly to the base ostracism of the Athenians, so did the patriot Thomas A. Hendricks submit to the Radical infamies of the Electoral Commission, and defrauded of his position in the Vice-Presidency, he returned again to private life without a murmur at the injustice done by perjured partisans. He well knew that no thief or perjurer could rob him of the respect and admiration of the American people, or of his justly earned popularity with the citizens of his State.

Again he renewed his practice of the law, a vocation for which he is, by the peculiarities of his mental abilities, most admirably fitted. His quickness of comprehension, his ready eloquence, his legal acumen and his habits of study eminently qualify him for a legal practice, and his return to his avocation was warmly welcomed by his hosts of clients

and friends. Beginning at the ground work of his profession and working his way up with an unceasing and tireless application and study, the deepest mysteries of the profession are as patent to him as the broad noon-day sun.

Though he always carefully reviews and studies the authorities bearing on a cause, yet he is one of those old-fashioned jurists who cannot by any means be called "a lawyer to the case." His off-hand opinions, derived from his thorough and intimate knowledge of the sources and principles of law, are more valuable and carry more weight than those of most disciples of Blackstone with the book in hand and the leaves turned down to the authority.

The fundamental principles of law—the essence, as it were, of all laws—are as familiar as household words, and so retentive in his memory that he can always refer to any decision wanted. In his practice, his strong physique and wonderful nerve-power, stand him in good stead, and he is never at a loss for a reply to a question, or for a defense against any surprise that may be suddenly sprung upon him.

His appeals to the jury are never mere sensational declamations to catch their sympathies or delude their judgment. Interwoven in the meshes of his discourse are subtle points of law, strong showings of equity and clear enunciations of authority, that never fail to interest, and often instruct the judge who may be sitting in the case. His eloquence is neither frothy nor wordy, but carries the auditor along gently yet irresistibly. There is no violence of declamation, no shrieking, stamping of the feet, and wind-mill swinging of the arms, but all is smooth, powerful and noble.

No matter how great the interest at stake, nor how bitter and acrimonious his opponents may become, he never loses

his temper, but remains cool, serene and smiling. He is a master of sarcasm, but it is tempered by his genial manner and his ready wit, and when he is up for a speech, the court room is always crowded with auditors, who anticipate a forensic treat. His coolness and readiness have saved him from many a defeat.

Upon one noted occasion when he was making a closing argument to the jury in an important case, the judge interrupted him to ask his opinion of a point of law which, up to the very moment of this question, had been entirely overlooked by his opponents. As it had not been sprung by them, he had paid no attention to it, but now it was an all important matter, as a ruling against him by the judge, would surely weaken and might defeat his cause.

Asking the judge to state the question again, in order to gain a moment's time for reflection, he gave it a rapid mental scrutiny. He proved himself equal to the emergency, and as the judge had finished his statement of the point, his line of argument had been decided upon. This attack in the rear was a serious one, but his generalship saved him from defeat. The point was a very strong one against him, and in his address to the judge upon the law he did not neglect to mingle a number of comments on its equity especially intended for the jury.

The rapidity with which he had attacked the soundness of the point raised, the earnestness with which he argued it, and the side hits at the jury as to its unfairness, while they did not succeed in convincing the judge carried the jury along with him and he gained the case. The eloquence and the promptitude with which he met this unforeseen attack, made the scene quite a dramatic one, and there was

not a one of the vast crowd of spectators but thought that the jury was justified in its decision.

His management of a case, in organizing his lines of attack or defense, his arrangement of the law and evidence bearing upon it, his careful guarding against every possible surprise and emergency, have been rarely equalled and never excelled by any lawyer that America has ever produced. This is the more wonderful when it is taken into consideration, that Gov. Hendricks has no legal specialty. A true practitioner of the old school, he is equally at home in the criminal as in the civil branch of his profession.

It might well be supposed that the years of study spent in the acquisition of this legal lore would, with most men, have left but little time for general reading. This, however, is not the case with Gov. Hendricks, whose taste in literature seems almost omniverous, and whose researches have made him familiar with the best works of poetry, fiction, drama, mechanics, theology and other subjects. His busy brain, like "the old curiosity shop," contains an assortment of information truly wonderful in any one mind, and marvelous in that of so thorough a toiler in legal fields.

His literary style is clear, forcible, concise and elegant. His expressions are epigrammatic, his words Anglo-Saxon in their brevity, and his sentences well turned and neatly rounded out. There is no striving after effect, no florid adjectives, no involved and plethoric sentences, but in their stead, we have the terse, vigorous English of Addison and Steele; simple, forceful and elegant. The articles contributed by Gov. Hendricks, some three years ago, to the *North American Review*—especially one upon the tariff—are masterly in their scope and treatment, and should be read by all.

Whether we regard him as a lawyer, a statesman, a *litterateur*, or best of all, a patriot, Governor Hendricks cannot fail to merit our esteem and admiration. While making no pretensions to being an "Admirable" Crichton, or a universal genius, yet he is certainly a man of singular versatility and varied talents. American politics of the present day nowhere furnishes us with his parallel in either purity, ability, talents or statesmanship.

CHAPTER VII.

MR. HENDRICKS' FINANCIAL POLICY.

WITHOUT A HOBBY.—AN ADVOCATE OF POPULAR EDUCATION.—TRUTH'S ULTIMATE TRIUMPH.—DEMOCRATIC VICTORY IN 1876. EQUALITY IN REPRESENTATION.—NO APOLOGIES TO MAKE.—RIGID DEMOCRATIC ECONOMY.—A LOUISIANA CRIMINAL CONVICTED.—JOHN SHERMAN AND MR. HAYES.—THEIR INTERFERENCE IN STATE TRIALS.—THEIR GUILT IMPLIED.—PROPER PUNISHMENT FOR CONSPIRATORS.—UNEMPLOYED CAPITAL AND LABOR.—RICH IN SOIL AND PRODUCTIONS.—THE PARTY IN POWER.—SPECIAL LEGISLATION.—INJURY TO THE DEBTOR CLASSES.—GOVERNOR ALLEN'S DEFEAT.—DEMOCRATIC RELIEF BILL.—REPUBLICAN OPPOSITION.—FINANCIAL POLICY OF THE COUNTRY INTERPRETED.

On questions of State and National policy Mr. Hendricks has displayed masterly knowledge. He is a man without hobbies and if he can be said to have any pet legislation particularly at heart it is that pertaining to the common school system. As a member of the Constitutional Convention of Indiana, he was active in securing for popular education ample provisions and safeguards, and in placing it beyond the reach of any and all vicissitudes of politics.

If he could be called extravagant even by his bitterest enemy, this is the only point upon which the charge could by any possibility lie—the single point of securing to the masses an education that might be sufficient to give to them the means of bettering their condition. If this can be called a fault, this solicitude for the children of the poor, then indeed is it a noble one, that may almost be classed with the virtues.

In a speech to the Indiana Democratic State Convention,

which met at Indianapolis, February 20, 1878, and of which he was the presiding officer, he expresses himself on the topics of the day in the following manner:

“I am greatly honored in being called to preside over your deliberations. I will discharge the duties imposed upon me impartially, and I call upon you, by the grave responsibilities that rest upon you, to aid me in preserving order and decorum and the right conduct of the business of the Convention.

“You and I have stood together in the contests of the past, encouraged sometimes by success, but more frequently encountering the disasters of defeat, but we have always stood together, relying without a doubt upon the ultimate triumph of truth and right. No discord or jealousy has disturbed our ranks; respect and confidence have everywhere prevailed. None have sought to promote personal ambition by exciting distrust between the counties and sections of the State. Union, harmony and conviction of right gave us the brilliant victory of 1876, which not only challenged the admiration of the Democracy of the country, but established Indiana as a Democratic State.

“The work to be done in 1878 is scarcely less important. Not only is Democratic supremacy to be maintained by the election of the State ticket, but the Legislature must be secured. The fraudulent and unconstitutional apportionment of 1873 must be supplanted by an apportionment of legislative and congressional representation in the spirit of the Constitution, giving to the people of each county and section of the State an equal voice in the enactment of the laws, in proportion to the population.

“We ask no more than equality in representation; we should accept nothing less. Need I remind you that a Sen-

ator of the United States is to be chosen, and need I add that upon that choice may depend the question whether the United States Senate shall be Democratic? He who now, without cause, shall sow discord and excite jealousy in our ranks is not a true Democrat. From border to border and from the river to the lake, we will stand in unbroken and unwavering ranks, with the fixed purpose that Indiana shall stand amongst the strongest and the firmest of the Democratic States.

“It is an agreeable and encouraging fact that we enter the contest this year with no apologies or explanations to make for the present or late State administration. The present head of the State government is a gentleman of clear judgment, painstaking and thorough in his investigations, and careful of all the interests of the Commonwealth. Personally identified with the most important interests of the people he will diligently promote its success by rigid economy in expenditure, and by excluding all unworthy and unnecessary objects of public favor. In his care for the public welfare he receives the efficient support of the several State officers.

“One of the Louisiana criminals has been tried and convicted. The President and John Sherman say he should not have been tried. Why not? His guilt and that of others is shown by the verdict. It is a high crime against the nation and threatening the stability of free institutions. What are the relations between the President and Mr. Sherman and the accused that authorize or permit an effort on their part to influence judicial proceedings in a State court? After a long and terrible contest, it is settled that State elections and State Legislatures must be free from military influence and control.

“So also it must be understood that the President and his Cabinet cannot directly or indirectly interfere with judicial proceedings under State authority. State courts must be wholly free and independent of federal control, except where the Constitution and laws give to the federal judiciary an appellate supervision.

“It is to be regretted that the facts developed upon the trial are of such a character as to create anxiety on the part of the President or any of his Cabinet; but they cannot avoid the effect upon the public mind of an exhibition of that anxiety, and of unseemly denunciation of the State authorities. While it is true that the title of Mr. Hayes to the office of President, and of Mr. Wheeler to the office of Vice-President have been settled under the solemn forms of law; and while it is our duty, in my judgment, to recognize the titles, because it is in the interest of stability and tranquility to do so, it is still none the less true that an imperative duty demands that fitting punishment should be visited upon the public criminals through whose flagitious crime that judgment was obtained.

“Because a judgment is final and conclusive forms no reason why immunity should be secured to the criminal through whose perjury it was obtained. If this is true of a simple property judgment rendered in a court of law, much more is it true of a monstrous crime against the elective sovereignty of a nation. The very fact that it was successful furnishes the strongest reason why the condign punishment of its perpetrators should cover it with perpetual infamy and manifest, to all future conspirators against the liberties of the nation, the danger of attempting its repetition.

“Since the close of the war the Republican party has been in almost uninterrupted control of the government of the

United States. During these thirteen years its will has been absolute. It has governed legislation, dictated policies and controlled the finances. Shall it render no account to the country? Capital and labor are unemployed, business is stagnant and enterprise is paralyzed. Alarm has seized the people; they are threatened not only with poverty, but with destitution and want. When an industrious and intelligent people are found in such a state and condition, it is the dictate of wisdom to seek and remove the cause.

“Our country possesses wonderful advantages of soil and climate. Its products include many of the great and valuable staples which command the markets of the world. Its mines have been productive. In such a country why is it that the people tremble with alarm as they contemplate the present and look toward the future? The party that seeks to continue in power should answer that question. What answer can be made? Have not the special enactments and the general policy been for the few and against the many?

“The contract between the United States and the public creditors has been changed and the change has been against the people. The currency has been changed, but it has been by contraction, to the hurt of the debtor classes. The resumption act was adopted by a party vote in Congress and to serve party purposes. The great contest for its repeal was in Ohio, in the fall of 1875. Governor Allen led the movement. His defeat by Governor Hayes was the defeat of repeal. The St. Louis Convention declared in favor of the repeal of the resumption clause, and the Democratic House, then in session, made the pledge of our party good and true by passing a bill for such repeal. The Senate was

Republican and refused to concur. That body accepted Governor Allen's defeat as a popular endorsement of resumption.

“Since the inauguration of President Hayes, I have regarded repeal as hopeless. He was pledged to resumption. Every vote for him was a vote for resumption. If John Sherman, at the head of the Treasury, holds the position, he will enforce the strictest and hardest execution of the law, and it is understood that any bill to repeal the clause will never be vetoed. I have heretofore said that, ‘in my belief, the resumption law has been the source of the greatest calamity to the business interests and prosperity of the country. It has had the effect of causing men to hoard greenbacks and the banks to withhold and withdraw circulation in the fear of being crushed by the forced resumption in gold.’

“A favorable foreign trade has promoted a return to specie payment, and if the balances shall continue in our favor, I shall expect to see our paper money at a par with gold at an early day. Will the restoration of silver money mitigate the evils of contraction caused by the resumption law? That is now the hope of the business men of Indiana. It is not as cheap money that the people demand its restoration, but as a legal tender and coin contemplated by the Constitution. When restored, it will become again a standard and measure of value. Before its demoralization silver was at a par with gold, and when restored I think it will arise again to the same level.

“I need hardly say to you that the value of any class or description of property greatly depends upon the important uses to which it may be applied. Silver was money. They stripped it of that, its most important use, and now say it is

worth eight per cent. less than before, and therefore it cannot be good money. Is that a fair argument? As a material for the manufacture of ware, silver will have only the value which that use can give it, but when stamped with the quality of money and made a legal tender for the payment of all classes of indebtedness, it becomes the active agent of trade and commerce, measures values, and discharges debts, and in such uses becomes correspondingly more important to society, and more valuable.

“Were gold stripped of the quality of money, what would be the effect upon its value? I do not believe the pennyweight of gold in the beautiful wine cup is as useful to society or as valuable as the same weight of gold in the stamped coin, which does its busy work in the channels of trade, and the demoralization of gold would demonstrate that fact. I have heretofore said that ‘silver has become an important product of this country, and inasmuch as the world recognizes it as a money medium of exchange, I cannot see why we should not utilize our large product of that metal to the greatest extent that may be found valuable. Its value as money to this country is too great to be thrown away.’

“Should experience prove, that because of the increased production of silver, there will be a permanent and important difference between silver and gold, Congress is clothed with ample power to provide the proper and adequate remedy.

“It is objected to the restoration of silver money that it will be in bad faith toward the public creditors. If I thought that possible, I would not favor restoration, however important to our interests I might esteem it. My judgment is so entirely satisfied that I have no anxiety upon that question. The question is settled by the fair reading

of the Public Credit Act of 1869, and the Funding Act of 1870. At the date of the former Act, it was lawful to pay the 5-20 bonds in Treasury notes. But it was contended that because of the circumstances attending the creation of the debt, it would not be proper so to construe the laws, and that payment ought not to be made in paper. To remove doubt and settle all controversy, the Act was passed. It pledged the faith of the United States to payment in coin.

“I opposed the measure in the Senate, and said that its effect would be to make the law to read that ‘the debt shall be paid in coin.’ The bill passed and became a law. Thereupon the debt became payable only in coin, not in gold coin alone, but in silver coin as well, for ‘the silver dollar was then a part of the coin of the country, as honored in law and commerce as gold.’

“Next came the law of July 14, 1870, to refund the national debt. That Act provided for the issue of new bonds to the amount of fifteen hundred million dollars, bearing 4, 4½ and 5 per cent. interest. The bonds so to be issued were to be exchanged for the outstanding 5-20 bonds ‘par for par,’ or sold for coin, and the proceeds were to be used in redeeming the 5-20 bonds. In the first section of the law it was provided that the new bonds should be made ‘redeemable in coin at the present standard value.’ That law, gentlemen, had no uncertain meaning. The new bonds were to be substituted for all the outstanding 5-20 bonds; they were to be sold for coin, and it was to be made a part of their language that ‘they shall be redeemable in coin of the present standard value.’

“My views on this subject were recently considered of sufficient importance by a distinguished citizen of New York to call for a review and answer by himself. He had un-

questionably given the phraseology of the law relating to the bonds a closer study than I had, for it was in the line of his business and of his profits. I had examined these laws with no professional or business purpose, but only as a citizen interested in the financial policy of the country. He found it useful to his argument to show, if possible, that the law, under which the public debt was being refunded, required the bonds to be paid in gold.

‘He used this language: ‘Yet I am supported by the opinion of illustrious lawyers in the land, that gold payments of the debt are required and assured by the Refunding Act of 1870 itself, which indeed mentions generally ‘coin’ in its first section; but then in its fifth section, to carry out the Act, excludes silver and specifically commands the Secretary of the Treasury to receive only ‘gold coin’ as the coin of deposit and payment.’

‘I am sure it will astonish you, after hearing this passage read, to learn that the fifth section has nothing whatever to do with the provisions and sales of the new bonds. It provides for this and no more: that the Secretary of the Treasury might, for two years receive gold on deposit and issue gold certificates bearing a low rate of interest, and that the deposit might be withdrawn any time after thirty days, upon ten days’ notice, and that twenty-five per cent should be retained in the Treasury to pay the certificates and the residue used to redeem 5-20 bonds.

* * * * *

‘In my letter accepting the St. Louis nomination for Vice-President, I said, ‘Gold and silver are the real standards of value.’ Indeed, I would rejoice if our supply of the precious metals were sufficient for the wants of our trade and commerce. But we all know that it is insufficient and that we

must also have a paper currency, and therefore I have opposed the policy of a forced resumption of specie payments based upon contraction by withdrawing the Treasury notes from circulation. The Treasury note has been a safe currency, and the people have had confidence in it and have not asked for its redemption. Whilst it is a safe currency, it is also a cheap currency in the sense that it does not represent an interest-bearing obligation of the government. In that respect and in the respect that it is a legal tender, it is a better currency than the national bank note. Because of these views I have urged the repeal, not only of the resumption clause, but also of the provisions that sought to substitute bank notes for the outstanding Treasury notes.

* * * * *

“The silver bill is to become a law; then every month, if John Sherman will obey the command of Congress, the silver will go rolling out over the country and through the channels of trade, like the red blood that goes through a man’s veins and arteries, and gives him life and power, energy and vitality.”

We have given at some length the views of Mr. Hendricks upon the financial policy of the country, at the time this speech was made, to show how entirely in accord with the great popular sentiment he was. The attempt to demonetize silver at the expense of the people and in favor of the bond holders was the policy of the Radical leaders, but happily they were forced to give way to the pressure of public sentiment. The suggestion of substituting Treasury notes entirely for bills of the national banks is also genuine Democratic policy.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BANNER OF REFORM.

A HISTORIC NAME.—SERVICES OF WILLIAM HENDRICKS.—A SUFFICIENCY OF HONORS.—KILLED IN BATTLE.—DEAD ON THE FIELD OF HONOR.—A MAN AMONGST MEN.—DEMOCRATIC GIANTS.—OPPOSITION AND CRITICISM.—AN UNASSAILABLE RECORD.—A NOBLE CHAMPION.—AN ACCEPTABLE LEADER.—EARNEST BUT NOT VIOLENT.—CALM AND DIGNIFIED.—SECRETARY CHANDLER CASTIGATED.—A FOOLISH LIAR.—MR. HENDRICKS' SPEECH AT INDIANAPOLIS.—A GREAT YEAR.—A REMARKABLE CONVENTION.—NO STAR ROUTES UNDER CLEVELAND.—EXAMINE THE BOOKS.—THOUSANDS STOLEN IN THE NAVY DEPARTMENT.—THE GUILTY MUST BE BROUGHT TO TRIAL.—AN EFFORT FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT.—THERE MUST BE A CHANGE.—PUT HONEST MEN IN.—THE BANNER OF REFORM.—DUTY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The name of Hendricks is one of historic importance in Indiana and is one that has been borne by many of her great men. William Hendricks, the uncle of Thomas A. Hendricks, was a member and the Secretary of the Convention that formed the first Constitution of the State. He was her first Representative in Congress, her second Governor, and for two terms represented her with honor and ability in the United States Senate. This was certainly a sufficiency of political honors for any man and showed the esteem in which he was held by the citizens of the young Commonwealth.

John Adam Hendricks, a cousin of Governor Hendricks, fell at the battle of Pea Ridge, in Arkansas, while bravely leading his regiment in a charge upon the enemy's lines. Thomas Hendricks, another cousin was killed in the Bayou Teche country, in Louisiana, while gallantly battling for the

cause of the Union. Many others of this noble family might be mentioned, who in the civic arena or upon the field of strife have distinguished themselves and served their country.

The subject of our sketch, however, is *facile princeps* even amongst his noble and noted kinsmen. As a lawyer he has for years stood at the head of the bar in a judicial circuit, noted throughout the United States for legal talent; as a statesman he easily and quickly took rank amongst the leaders of his party, though those leaders were moral and intellectual giants, as witness Bayard, Thurman, McDonald, Tilden and Beck; as a patriot he must ever rank, along with his noble coadjutor, Tilden, with that grandest of all patriots since time began, the immortal Washington.

It is true that the views of Governor Hendricks have met with opposition and criticism, as indeed the purest and grandest measures ever must, but the bitterest hostile criticism has never dared to assail his public or his private morals. The vilest calumny has shrunk abashed from attacking a record so unassailable as his, and while his political enemies may have detested the noble cause that he espoused, yet they had nothing but respect and admiration for the unflinching boldness and the absolute purity of the man himself.

All have done him the justice, and it is only justice, to see that his honest soul would scorn to utter a sentiment in which he did not place implicit faith, or to be capable of an action that had in it aught of dishonesty or deceit. This purity of character was of great value to him as a leader, for all felt that under his banner there was safety from even the suspicion of evil.

But one other man in his State ever so completely led his party as does Governor Hendricks, and when the mantle of political generalship fell from Jesse D. Bright, Hendricks was the Elisha that received it. This was not that able public men were either few or far between in Indiana, as witness McDonald, Voorhees and others, but that all felt that Thomas A. Hendricks, like Saul amongst the Israelites, stood head and shoulders above them all.

In no sense of the word is Mr. Hendricks a violent partisan, though he is an earnest and honorable one—it is not in his nature to be violent upon any subject any more than the broad and majestic river can brawl like the swollen brooklet. His mind is a sea where the storms of furious passion and the tides of blind prejudice do not enter. Not that he is unprovided with a proper amount of temper and a respectable degree of pugnacity, but these are exerted with a calmness almost beyond belief.

His assaults are the more terrible from this calm dignity, as witness his castigation of that miserable creature Chandler, Secretary of the Navy who replied to some strictures on the administration of affairs in his department. In order to show the controversy in its regular sequence we will now give the speech that called out Chandler's letter—which we shall show by the best authority to have been a lying attempt at an excuse. A large Democratic mass meeting was held at Indianapolis on the night of July 12, at which, without any preparation, Mr. Hendricks delivered the following speech, he being greeted at the outset with deafening cheers and the warmest words of welcome:

“MY FELLOW CITIZENS—You are almost as mad as they were in the Convention at Chicago. [Great cheering.] I thought they would not stop up their throats at all, and I

thought there was no limit to the crowd there, but I find there is larger almost here. I am encouraged and delighted to meet you on this occasion. You come to celebrate and express your approval of the nominations that were made at Chicago. I am glad that you are cordial in this expression. This is a great year with us. Every fourth year we elect two great officers of the Government. This year is our great year, and every man, whatever his party associations may be, is called upon to reconsider all questions upon which he is disposed to act, and having reconsidered, to cast his vote in favor of what he believes to be right. The Democracy of Indiana appointed me one of the delegates to the Convention at Chicago. I spent nearly a week in attendance in that city, and now I return to say a few things to you, and only a few things in regard to that Convention. It was the largest Convention ever held in America. Never has such an assemblage of people been seen before. It was a convention marked in its character for sobriety, deliberation and purposes. It selected two men to carry the banner, and leaving that Convention and going out before the people the question is, will you help carry the banner? [Great cheering and cries of 'we will do it.'] I do not expect—I have no right to expect—that I will escape criticism and, it may be, slander of the opposite party. I have not in my life suffered very much from that. But I am before you, Democrats, Conservatives, Independents, all men who wish to restore the government to the position it occupied before these corrupt times, and to all such men I make my appeal for your support for the high office for which I have been nominated by the Democracy at Chicago. [Great cheers.]

“Gov. Cleveland of New York is the nominee for

President; a man promoted to that high office by the largest majority ever deciding an election in that State. He is a man of established honesty of character, and if you will elect him to the Presidency of the United States, you will not hear of Star-routes in the postal service of the country under his administration. [Cheers.]

“I will tell you what we need—Democrats and Republicans will alike agree upon that—we need to have the books in the government offices opened for examination. [Cheers and cries, ‘That is it.’] Do you think that men in this age never yield to temptation? [Laughter.] It is only two weeks ago that one of the Secretaries at Washington called upon the Senate Committee to testify in regard to the condition of his department and in that department was the bureau of medicine and surgery. In that department an examination was being had by a committee from the Senate and it was ascertained by the oath of the Secretary that sits at the head of the department that the defalcation found during last year, as far as it had been estimated, was \$63,000, and when asked about it he said that he had received a letter a year ago informing him of some of these outrages, and a short time since somebody had come to him and told him there were frauds going on in the service, but members of Congress had recommended a continuance of the head of the bureau with such earnestness that he thought it must be all right, and now it turns out that the public is \$63,000 out and how much more no man can tell.

“But what is the remedy? To have a President that will appoint heads of bureaus that will investigate the condition of the books and bring all the guilty parties to trial. [Cheers and cries of ‘That is it.’] My fellow citizens, I believe for such duty as this, for the purpose of maintain-

ing the United States government for the people of this country, I can commend to your confidence Gov. Cleveland of New York. [Great cheering.] Not long since there were troubles in the local government of the city of Buffalo, and the conservative people of that city maintained Gov. Cleveland as a candidate for Mayor, not upon the party ticket, but upon a citizen's ticket with the duty assigned to him of correcting the evils that prevailed in the government of the city of Buffalo. He was elected and entered upon the duties of the office and made corrections in the management of affairs of that city so clearly, so well defined that the people of New York took him up and made him Governor of the State, and that is the way he comes before you now. [Cries of 'Hurrah for Cleveland!'] He who corrects all evils in a badly administered city, and who goes from that service into the affairs of the State government and makes corrections there, will then step into the national office and, proceeding into the affairs of the government, bring about reforms there. [Great cheering.]

"My fellow citizens, I did not intend to speak this long to you. [Loud cries of 'Go ahead' and 'Keep it up.'] The Convention of Chicago did not realize all that we expected. For myself I had no expectations. In no respect and in no sense was I a candidate for any office whatever. We did not realize all that we expected, but I believe that is the fate of humanity almost everywhere and under almost every circumstance. But have we realized that that should encourage us to make an effort for good government? [Cries of 'That is the beginning.'] Not that I want the office to which I was nominated, for you know that I did not desire that, but somebody must be nominated for Vice-President to run on a ticket with the candidate for President, and

when the ticket is presented to you, you are called upon to pass judgment upon it in respect to its merits throughout. [Cheers and cries of 'Yes' and 'We will support it.'] That is the question—will you support it? [Cheers and cries of 'We will.'] And in asking that question I want to ask you another: Do you not, all of you, Democrats and Republicans, believe that the affairs of the government have been long enough in the hands of one set of men? [Cries of 'We do,'] and do you not all believe that we have reached a period when there ought to be a change? [Cries of 'We do,'] and ['We will have it.'] I do not ask that all shall be turned out. That is not the idea. If a man has done his duty well and faithfully; if he has not used the powers of his office to disturb the rights of the people; if he has not furnished money to corrupt elections; if he has simply confined himself to the duties of his office, I am not clamoring for his official blood. But my fellow citizens of these 120,000 men that now fill official positions in the country, we have no right to suppose from all that has taken place, that they are all honest, [cheers and laughter], and the only way that we can know is to make a change. A month ago everybody supposed that all the employes in the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery were honest, and now at the very first examination it turns out that they are not. But what is the remedy? Put them out and put honest men in. [Cheers and cries of 'That is it.'] We cannot do that if we leave the same President and heads of departments and heads of bureaus in. I have every confident faith that this ticket will be elected. [Cries of 'So have I.'] I think I know something about Indiana. [Great cheers and laughter.] We will probably stand here together, won't we? [Cries of 'You bet!'] And this banner of liberty, of

right, of justice, of fair government, that has been put in the hands of Cleveland and Hendricks, shall be carried and placed in glorious triumph on top of the National Capitol November next. [Great cheering and cries of 'We will put it there.'] Shall this be the people's banner? [Cries of 'it is!'] You have no interest except in good government, too, and I think I have none. I have lived among you a good while, I have tried to secure your confidence and to preserve it, [cries of 'You have it, too,'] and all I ask of you is your support, not for myself, but for yourselves and for your children and all people that are interested in good government. [Cheers.]

"Now, I have spoken longer than I intended. [Cries of 'Go on' and 'We are not tired of you.'] I know when any of my Republican friends who are intending to stand by their party still longer, shall see this numerous crowd here to-night, they will think the doom of fate has come at last. [Cheers and laughter.] Why, I happened up the street a few weeks ago; it was just after Blaine and Logan were nominated, and I saw a little gathering of very honest and honorable people, behaving themselves exceedingly well and very quiet, and Gen. Harrison was delivering a speech about nominations made at Chicago [loud laughter] and really if you were to bring that crowd here and drop it right down amongst you you would not miss it at all. [Great cheers and laughter.] What does it mean? It means that the people intend to have reform [cheers] and that is the watchword that is written upon every Democratic banner. It was written upon the Democratic banner eight years ago, and Tilden and Hendricks carried that banner[cheers], but reform was defeated by defeating the

right of the people to elect their own ruler [cheers,] and what is the consequence?

“There has been no reduction of public expenditures. Although the war is all the while passing further and further away from us, still this Republican party makes no reduction in public expenditures. Shall we have it? Shall we have a good government? Shall we have lower taxes? They tell us that the government can be well carried on for one hundred million dollars less than is now collected from the public. If Cleveland shall come into presidential office I believe he will bring expenditures down to the last dollar that will support the government economically administered [cheers], and then when he does that he will have accomplished what Gen. Jackson said was the duty of any government. A government has not the right to collect a dollar from the people except what is necessary to meet the public service. [Cheers and cries of ‘That is right.’] Whatever a government needs she has a right to come to me, or to you, or to all of us, and make us pay for it. But when she gets all that she needs for an economical administration she has no right to take another sixpence out of our pockets, and this is all we ask. When this ticket shall triumph that idea will be established in this country. [Cheers.]

“I thank you very much for the attention you have given me. I ask you simply that as citizens interested in all that interests any of us, that you will give your attention to this campaign and never cease proper effort and just effort until your Democratic banner with the Democratic principle, reform and cheap government, waves in all the skies above your heads.” [Cheers.]

CHAPTER IX.

A CONTROVERSY PRECIPITATED.

LONG CONTINUED FRAUDS.—LEGITIMATE MATTER FOR COMMENT.—FALSE AND FRIVOLOUS.—BUREAU OF MEDICINE FRAUDS.—NO ADEQUATE ACTION TAKEN.—LONG CONTINUED PECULATION.—A DRUNKEN CLERK RETAINED.—A NEW CHIEF CLERK DETERMINED ON.—SENATOR MCPHERSON'S LETTER.—A NON-POLITICAL OFFICE.—THE PETITION FOR RE-APPOINTMENT.—DR. WALES' GOOD CHARACTER.—WHERE THE LIE COMES IN.—A NATURAL CONCLUSION.—THE REPUBLICAN SENATORS.—OLD AND HONORABLE.—SUPPRESSED BY BILL CHANDLER.—WHAT SENATOR BECK SAYS.—HE PROVES CHANDLER'S MENDACITY.—CONGRESSIONAL WANT OF CONFIDENCE IN CHANDLER.—A LAME ATTEMPT.—A HIGH OFFICE DISGRACED.—A PARTY SHAME.

The assertion of Mr. Hendricks concerning the long continued frauds in the Navy Department, the knowledge of which frauds had for some days been public property, and which were certainly legitimate matter for any citizen to comment upon, called forth the following letter from Secretary Chandler, a worthy follower of his predecessor, Robeson. Even if the letter were entirely true it is far from being a defence, but it has not even the merit of truth, as we shall show. It is so unimportant a document that were it not necessary to preserve the sequence we would not trouble our readers with it. He says:

Thomas A. Hendricks, Esq.

“SIR: A candidate for Vice-President should speak with decent fairness. In your speech at Indianapolis, last Saturday night, you made statements from which you meant that the public should believe that it appeared by my testimony that the frauds in the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery of

this department amounted, during the past year, to \$63,000; that I was informed of some of these outrages a year ago; that after I was informed of the frauds I disbelieved them, because members of Congress had recommended the continuance of the Chief of the Bureau and that I took no adequate action concerning them; whereupon you demanded the election of a President who would appoint a Chief of the Bureau who would investigate the condition of the books and bring all the guilty parties to trial. To the contrary of all this, I testified that the suspected vouchers commenced as far back as June 21, 1880, although a small voucher was paid as late as Jan. 25, 1884; that while an anonymous letter of about a year ago charged drunkenness upon the Chief Clerk, Daniel Carrigan, which the Chief of the Bureau, Dr. Philip S. Wales, reported to me was not true, I had no information leading to the frauds until December or January last; that I determined simultaneously with beginning investigation to have a new Chief of the Bureau in the place of Dr. Wales, whose term was to expire Jan. 26, and also a new Chief Clerk; that great opposition to the change was made by members of Congress, but I persisted and Dr. Wales went out on that date. Carrigan was put out Feb. 4 and the investigation of frauds and arrest of guilty parties have since proceeded with due diligence.

“It is true that I stated that the recommendations for re-appointment of Dr. Wales, whom I found in office when I went in, April 7, 1882, were of such a character as to fully justify me in believing that the affairs of his Bureau had been well administered. Senator McPherson wrote to the President as follows under date of Dec. 18, 1883:

“ ‘SIR: As the term of office of Surgeon-General Wales, of the Navy Department, is soon to expire, and considering

it not a political office, I presume, as I am a perfect prodigal with the article of advice, to ask, for the good of everybody and everything relating to that service, that you reappoint him. I do this because he is an excellent officer, having ability and energy, qualities not general in the naval service, and which I think should be nourished when discovered. I feel sure if any officer has deserved such recognition from the appointing power by reason of faithful and efficient service in the past, that officer is Surgeon-General Wales.'

"A petition for reappointment, written by Carrigan, was sent to the President, headed by J. G. Carlisle, followed by Phil. B. Thompson, jr., Leopold Morse, R. H. M. Davidson, D. Wyatt Aiken, William McAdoo, George D. Wise, John C. Nicholls, P. A. Collins, H. B. Lovering, Robert B. Vance, D. W. Connolly, Charles B. Love, George A. Post, Albert L. Willis, Carleton Hunt, G. W. Hewitt, William H. Fiedler and other Representatives in Congress, saying of Dr. Wales: 'He has administered the affairs of the bureau during the last four years with signal ability and success.' United States Senators McPherson, Butler, Brown, Colquitt, Beck, Williams, C. W. Jones, Ransom and thirty-two other Senators, also using Carrigan as their writer, petitioned for Dr. Wales' reappointment, stating that 'his administrative capacity has been fully demonstrated by the successful management of the Bureau of which he now has charge.'

"Senator Mc Pherson, Speaker Carlisle and others of the most prominent of these gentlemen who demanded Dr. Wales' reappointment, were with you in the Convention at Chicago, and could have informed you that he had borne a good reputation; that the law required that the Chief of the

Bureau should be a naval surgeon, and placed the medical expenditures in his hands; that his was in no sense a political office, but that if he had any politics he was a Democrat; and that any attempt to make political capital out of frauds for which this naval surgeon, who is their intimate friend, is solely responsible, would be disingenuous and unfair. That they did not succeed in keeping Dr. Wales and his Chief Clerk, Carrigan, in office is very fortunate."

One would naturally conclude from this letter that the Democrats alone had insisted upon his retaining in office guilty parties. The facts in the case are these:

It seems that thirty-two Republican Senators signed the petition requesting the retention of Dr. Wales as Chief of the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery of the Navy Department. The thirty-two Republican United States Senators signed the petition before it was presented to the Democratic Senators, who signed it at the request of Senator Anthony of Rhode Island, who carried it around the Senate Chamber. Mr. Anthony is the oldest member of the Senate, and a very honorable man. Bill Chandler, in answering Hendricks' speech, suppressed the names of the Republicans who asked for Wales' retention, giving only the names of the Democrats, thereby trying to make it appear as if none but Democrats urged Dr. Wales' retention.

Senator Beck, in referring to Chandler's letter, said today: "Why, he lies. He doesn't tell all the facts. He said that I and other Democratic members of Congress demanded Dr. Wales' appointment, but omits to state that Senator Anthony, the oldest and most honored of all the Republican Senators, was the first name on the petition. He presented the petition to me and all the other Demo-

crats who signed it. There were thirty-two Republican Senators on the paper. Why did not Mr. Chandler tell that? I did sign the paper, and would do it again to-day. Dr. Wales is an honorable man, high in his profession, and high in all the social walks of life. He is not perhaps as good a detective as Mr. Chandler. He signed those vouchers when presented to him, believing they were correct. If Mr. Chandler stood as well to-day as Dr. Wales, he could have got all the supplies necessary for the American Navy, but Congress had no confidence in his integrity, and refused the money. I repeat that Dr. Wales is an honorable man. Thirty-two Republican Senators said so, and I say so. He is far above Mr. Chandler in every respect.”

So much for the lame attempt at an excuse manufactured by this despicable creature, who disgraces a high official station, and whose mendacity and inefficiency—if it is nothing worse—disgrace the party that places such cattle in office.

CHAPTER X.

DIDN'T KNOW IT WAS LOADED.

A PROMPT REPLY.—AN EMBRYO LETTER WRITER SQUELCHED.—VAN BUREN'S MAXIM.—CHANDLER'S BELIEF IN IT.—MR. HENDRICKS' LETTER.—A CASE CITED.—CHANDLER ADMITS THE THEFT.—AN IMPOTENT DEFENCE.—ALLOWING THEFT TO CONTINUE.—UNANSWERABLE QUESTIONS.—THE CASE MADE BLACKER.—NOTIFIED BUT QUIESCENT.—PRIVY TO THE FRAUDS.—SUSPICIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES NOT PROPERLY INVESTIGATED.—GUILTY PARTIES SHIELDED.—DETECTIVE WOOD'S OPINION OF CHANDLER.—LAME METHODS OF EXCUSE.—A DOWNRIGHT FALSEHOOD.—CHANDLER PROVED GUILTY.—A COMPANION CASE.—A SNIPING EXPEDITION.—“PUDDING” EDWARDS AS A PRACTICAL JOKER.—ACTING THE DESPERADO.—THE BLUNDERBUS FIRED.—KICKED INTO THE DITCH.—A PICTURE OF FRIGHT.—UTTERLY INCONSOLABLE.—THE MOAN OF THE JOKER.—PIGMY AGAINST GIANT.

Mr. Hendricks' reply to Secretary Chandler was prompt, conclusive and terrible in its effect. It shrivelled up the embryo public letter-writer, and to-day little Chandler swears by that pet maxim of crafty Van Buren that “he would rather cross the Atlantic in one of his job-work monitors to see a man than to write him a letter,” especially if the man be Thomas A. Hendricks. The epistle that so sadly and suddenly nipped in the bud his aspirations as a writer of campaign documents, was as follows:

“INDIANAPOLIS, July 14, 1884.

HON. W. E. CHANDLER; SIR—I find in the newspapers this morning a letter to me from yourself, written yesterday and circulated through the Associated Press. You complain that I did you injustice in my address to the people of this city, made the evening before. In that address I urged we need have the books in the government offices opened for

examination, and, as an illustration, I cited the case of fraudulent vouchers in one of the Bureaus of your department, and that upon your testimony before the sub-Committee of the Senate it appeared that the frauds amounted to \$63,000, and is not every word of that true? You were brought before a committee and testified as I stated. You admitted under oath that the sum of money lost amounted to \$63,000, but your defense was that the embezzlement did not wholly occur under your administration, but part of it was under that of your predecessor. It seems to have covered a period from June 21, 1880, down to January 15, 1884. Does that help your case? You were at the head of the department a year and nine months of that period. Your predecessor about one year and ten months. He was in office at the payment of the first false voucher, January 21, 1880, and up to April 17, 1882, when you came in, and you continued thence until the last false voucher was paid, January 25, 1884. The period was almost equally divided between yourself and your predecessor. How much of the \$63,000 was paid out under yourself and how much under your predecessor your letter does not show. But, sir, upon the question that I was discussing does it make any difference who was Secretary when the false vouchers were paid? I urged that cases like this, when frauds are concealed in the vaults or in the books of the department the only remedy of the people is by change of control, so that the books and vouchers shall come under examination of new and disinterested men. Do you think I am answered when you say I was mistaken in supposing that in this case the frauds were all under your administration, when, in fact, a part of them extended back into that of your predecessor? Why, sir, that makes your case worse.

For the Bureau of Medicine and Surgery defalcation is large; but the more serious fact is that it could and did extend through two administrations of the department, a period of nearly four years, without detection. But it becomes more serious, so far as you are individually concerned, when the fact is considered that you had notice and yet took no sufficient action.

“The information upon which I spoke was from Washington the 26th of the present month, by the Associated Press, the same that brings me your letter. The Associated Press obtained its information either in your department or from an investigating committee. If you were not correctly reported, that was the time for complaint and correction. You testified that ‘the total suspicious vouchers discovered so far was about \$63,000, and that money fraudulently obtained was in some instances divided between the watchman in the department, Corrigan, Chief Clerk, and Kirkwood, in charge of accounts.’ Now what notice had you? According to the Associated Press report of your testimony, you received a letter last year charging Corrigan, one of the parties, with drunkenness, and after that man came to you and told you that Kirkwood and Corrigan were engaged in frauds. Did not that put you upon notice and investigation? You testified that some inquiry was made and the conclusion was that while there were some suspicious circumstances, they did not warrant the conclusion of guilt. After notice, verbal and in writing, you left the men in office. You did not bring the frauds to light nor the guilty parties to punishment. It was Government Detective Wood who discovered the frauds, and the Associated Press report says Wood declared he would have no

further dealings with your department, but would press the investigation before Congress.

“What is your next excuse? Worse, if possible, than all before. You say a large number of Congressmen, including some gentlemen of great influence and position, recommended that the head of the Bureau, Dr. Wales, should be reappointed. Members of Congress knew nothing of the frauds—they had no opportunity to know it. It was within your reach and duty. They were probably his personal friends; you were his official superior. But, in fact, did you reappoint him.? I understand not. Perhaps a detective discovered the frauds too soon, but Dr. Wales was not one of the three guilty parties. He neither forged vouchers nor embezzled money. His responsibility in the case is just the same as your own. He was the official superior of three rogues, as you were of himself, as well as them. Neither he nor yourself exposed the frauds or punished the parties. I have not thought of or considered this as a case of politic. Addressing my neighbors, I said that this and like cases admonish them to demand civil-service reform in the removal of all from office who will not seek to promote it in the sphere of their official duty and authority.

Respectfully,

[Signed]

T. A. HENDRICKS.”

The writer can call to mind but a single comparison for the abject and pitiable condition of William E. Chandler when this letter was made public, and at the risk of giving a severe test to the patience of the reader, he will relate it.

When but a small boy, in Washington City, it was the habit of quite a number of us to go out to “the Slashes” to kill frogs, snipe and other “game.” One of the hangers-on

of the party was a young fellow who gloried in the appellation of "Pudding" Edwards, and who never lost an opportunity of playing a practical joke. On one occasion, when we were out on an expedition, Bill Morgan had his single barrel gun along, a miserable, boyish affair, that was of doubtful utility, but which kicked like a trick-mule.

Seeing Billy Clayton, a gentlemanly looking boy, now a resident of Rome, Georgia, coming along some distance off, and on the opposite side of a row of bushes, "Pudding" proposed to take the gun and frighten him by snapping a cap at him as he passed. Pretending to see quite a joke in this, we hurried "Pudding" off to a steep bank overhanging a muddy ditch, after whispering Morgan to ram in a big load. This was hastily done, a handful of powder being poured in and half a newspaper rammed in on top of it.

All the time, from under the bank, Morgan kept up a running conversation, asking how near Clayton was, and pretending to be hunting for a cap for the gun. At last everything was fixed, the gun was handed up to "Pudding" who assumed a tragic attitude and just as Clayton was passing, roared out, in true desperado style, "Halt!"

Without waiting to see if his mandate was obeyed, he pulled the trigger of the gun, which he had already cocked. As the hammer descended there was a terrific explosion—a cross between a California earthquake and the bursting of a saw-mill boiler—the gun whizzed over "Pudding's" shoulder and he was kicked backward into the muddy water of the ditch, completely disappearing from sight.

Almost dying with laughter, we fished him out of the mire and began examining his shoulder to see if it was not crushed into splinters. Such a picture of fright and astonishment is but seldom seen, and pitying his forlorn condition, we

proposed for him to go on with us out to Rock Creek where we would take a swim and aid him in washing his clothes, which, as may be surmised, sadly needed it. With a dazed look, as if he did not know what calamity might next overtake him, he declined all consolation and departed homeward holding his right cheek in his left hand and moaning "I didn't know it was loaded, I didn't know it was loaded."

It is safe to venture the assertion that the next time Billy Chandler attempts to meddle with a reform champion he will first ascertain if he is loaded. To warn him against the folly of matching his pigmy wit against the mighty brain of Mr. Hendricks, we will give him the information that the latter is not only always loaded, but is hair triggered and unfailing in his aim.

CHAPTER XI.

BOB BURDETTE AND MR. HENDRICKS.

GENIAL AND ENTERTAINING.—A CHARACTERISTIC ANECDOTE.—THE ONLY MR. HENDRICKS.—DINING WITH THE GOVERNOR.—STRIKING A CANDIDATE FOR A LOAN.—BURDETTE OUT LECTURING.—A PLEASANT MEETING.—DINING AT WORMLEY'S.—INTRODUCED TO MR. HENDRICKS.—A WRITER OF POETRY.—A RETENTIVE MEMORY.—A BEWITCHING SMILE.—A HAYES NEWSPAPER.—“A LITTLE POEM.”—“THERE WAS AN OLD HOOSIER.”—DID NOT REMEMBER.—A SAD STATE OF EMBARRASSMENT.—WORSE AND MORE OF IT.—CAMPAIGN RHYMES QUOTED.—A THOROUGHLY DISGUSTED AUTHOR.—BOUND TO THE STAKE.—NOT VERY WELL.—A PLEASANT GOOD BYE.—THE SEARCH FOR WORMLEY.—A HEARTY LAUGH.—“GO TO BURLINGTON!”—WANTED TO DIE IN PEACE.—MISSING A CHANCE.—THE ZEALOUS PREACHER.—A MEDDLESOME BROTHER.—“IF IT AIN'T THERE IT OUGHT TO BE.”

In social life no man is more genial and entertaining than Gov. Hendricks, and certainly no one can extract more fun from a given situation than he can. As an illustration of this trait we will give an anecdote furnished by Bob Burdette, of the “Burlington Hawkeye,” to the “Brooklyn Eagle.” The only comment we shall make upon it is, that it is very characteristic of the Indiana statesman:

“Do you know, I have a very, very pleasant recollection of Mr. Hendricks? The only Mr. Hendricks in the world, just now, of course. I never met him but once, and then I had the honor of dining with him.

I do not mention this fact in order to create the impression that I am on easy, familiar terms with all the candidates in this Presidential campaign. I fear I am not. If I wanted \$500 to-morrow—and I probably will; at least I

want it to-day, and I am not the man to change my convictions on financial matters in twenty-four hours—I do not know a single candidate for President or Vice-President whom I could, so to speak, strike for that amount.

Well, Mr. Hendricks had the honor of dining with Me—that is, we dined with each other. It was this way. I had been lecturing, after the ‘count’ of 1876, out in the vast, free, glorious West. I was hastening home to Burlington, over the C., B. & Q. On that same day Mr. Hendricks was on his way to California. Both day trains on the Q. road dined at Wormley’s, at Chariton, Iowa. Mr. Wormley met me at the door of the dining-room with even more than usual cordiality. He said to me:

“Good. I have company for you to-day. Come right over to this table.”

I followed him and faced a gentleman so much better looking than his campaign portraits that I did not recognize Mr. Hendricks until we were introduced. His face was very attractive. His manner no less charming. I was pleased that fate had cast me in his way. That is, I was at first. He was so pleasant. I liked him. Early in the course of a brilliant conversation about the weather, he said:

“You are the young gentleman who writes the poetry on the ‘Hawkeye,’ I believe.” And you never saw a more bewitching smile on a man’s face.

Now, that was the very thing I didn’t want to talk about. I had been writing whole pages of campaign “poetry,” they call it, in the ‘Hawkeye,’ but, you understand, that excellent family paper wasn’t exactly a Democratic paper. Not just what you’d call a Democratic paper. At least, it was no more Democratic than the most rantankerous, rally’ round the flag, boys, third term, Hays and the whole ticket Re-

publican paper of Republican Iowa, could be expected to be. It was just about as Democratic as the "Eagle" is Republican. And I knew what kind of "poetry" I had been writing. I fidgeted a little, poured a spoonful of sugar in my soup, and owned up that I was the man. Then I asked him how long he expected to remain in California.

He told me, and then said: "There was one little poem"—now, see how kind he was—he called it a poem. "There was one little poem you wrote beginning: 'There was an old Hoosier as I've heard tell'—now, how did the rest of that go?"

Go? It went for him, tooth, claw and toe-nail, and I knew it. I feebly said: "I don't remember" emptied the salt into my coffee, and "hoped he would find rest and returning health in California." I also hoped that I would die in a few moments, but I didn't say so. He thanked me in his courteous manner for the wish I expressed, and then went on.

"There was another, a good one; I can recollect only the second stanza; how did the first one run?"

And therewith he quoted a few lines of one of the meanest things I ever wrote about any man. While he quoted my prize poem, pretending to forget the stanza that referred to himself, I was confused, but I seemed abstracted, as I spread five very thick layers of mashed potato on my folded napkin, under the impression that I was spreading a piece of bread and butter. I said I wasn't very well when I wrote that one, and had quite forgotten it. Then I attempted to wipe the cold-beaded perspiration from my brow with that napkin, and added to my embarrassment, I must have appeared embarrassed or eccentric, I am sure.

Well, the long and short of it is, Mr. Hendricks re-

membered every mean poem I had written about Mr. Tilden and himself during that bitter campaign, and he could quote just enough of the innocent, good-natured lines of each one to show me that he had read it. I never saw a man with such a memory. I hope he enjoyed his dinner. I think he did. He ate heartily and smiled good-naturedly all the time, and he bade me good-bye very pleasantly. I am confident I showed off to good advantage. If I did, I dissembled. I didn't feel that way at all. But I didn't run. I sat there and took my punishment like a man. When Mr. Hendricks went to his train I arose and sought Mr. Wormley, to tell him about it. He was lying on the floor behind the cigar counter wheezing and choking like a man who is trying to laugh himself to death. I began to get mad. I said:

“See here, Mr. Wormley”—

He feebly motioned me away. “Train time,” he gasped. “Go to Burlington; go away. Let me die in peace.”

I turned away and got on my train. I did wrong. I ought to have licked Wormley while he was helpless. It was the only chance I ever had. And I never dined again with Mr. Hendricks.”

Served you quite right, Mr. Burdette, for devoting your talents to the service of such “small deer” as Hayes and Wheeler. An earnest old Methodist preacher in the backwoods of Indiana, more noted for his zeal and goodness than for his education, once made an apt quotation from Milton and credited it to the Bible, whereupon a more learned brother told him there was no such text in the Bible. “If there ain't there ought to be,” said the sturdy old fellow and he went on with his sermon. So we say of Burdette's anecdote, “If it never happened it ought to

have happened,” for the joke was a good enough one to have occurred.

Fond as he is of a good joke, however, Mr. Hendricks is one of the kindest of men and could never descend to participate in a practical joke or any piece of fun that could injure the feelings of another. He might rejoice in the confusion into which he had thrown the guileless poet of the “Hawkeye,” and if the scene ever occurred—and no doubt something approximating it did—it must have been a very enjoyable one. We believe there are but few of the gentlest of Christians who would not smile at this kindly and innocent manner of “getting even” with an antagonist.

CHAPTER XII.

REMINISCENCES OF MR. HENDRICKS' YOUTH.

A FRIENDLY DESCRIPTION OF MR. HENDRICKS.—HIS HEIGHT AND CONTOUR.—A PLEASANT FACE.—OLD STYLE WHISKERS.—THE MERIDIAN OF LIFE—A LIFE-LONG FRIEND—MR. HENDRICKS' CHILDHOOD.—HIS FIRST SCHOOL.—THE YOUNG OX-DRIVER.—THE EMBRYO LAWYER.—HIS FATHER'S TAN-YARD.—GOES TO HANOVER COLLEGE.—READS LAW IN PENNSYLVANIA.—THE TWO MAJORS.—COMPANIONS AND RIVALS.—HANGING OUT THEIR SHINGLES.—A PETTY LAW SUIT.—THE VOLUNTEER ATTORNEYS.—FRIENDS AND NEIGHBORS IN ATTENDANCE.—TAKING HIS FEE IN APPLES.—EARLY PECULIARITIES.—THE PROPER SELECTION.—THE CHILD THE FATHER OF THE MAN.—NO ORDINARY MAN.—BIOGRAPHICAL MATERIALS.—THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE REPUBLIC.—A NOBLE RECORD.—A LIFE LESSON.—THE PEOPLE'S ADVOCATE.—DEATHLESS AND ENDURING MONUMENTS.

A personal description, which has so far been omitted, of the man who is to be the next Vice-President of our Republic, may prove of interest to the reader, and will be here given. This description is that of a friend of the Governor, who has known him intimately for years and who has the greatest admiration for the grand old man.

“Mr. Hendricks,” he says, “is five feet nine inches high, and weighs one hundred and eighty-five pounds. His body is compact and strongly built. His head is large and moderately covered with sandy hair, freely intermingled with gray. His eyes are gray his nose large and prominent, and his mouth and chin are shapely and very expressive. His complexion is fair and inclined to freckle. He wears no beard, except a small quantity near the ear. The contour of his face and form denotes strength and solidity, and

no judge of physiognomy will ever mistake him for an ordinary man.

“He may be said to be in the youth of old age, for whereas his step is as firm and his voice as resonant as that of a man of 30, he is past the meridian of life. Good habits and a strong constitution are his, and these combines so mix youth and old age that it is impossible to tell where one ends and the other begins.

“Such is Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana, one of the foremost men of the country.”

Another friend of the Governor, who now owns the old Hendricks' homestead, contributes the following reminiscences of the boyhood and youth of the statesman, in a letter dated at Shelbyville. He has known the Governor since childhood.

“Thomas A. Hendricks was brought to Shelby county by his parents in the spring of 1822, being then a child two years old. When he reached the proper age, he went to school in the winter and in the summer worked on his father's farm.

“He first attended school in a little school-house which stood on the lot where the seminary now is; his teacher being a Mrs. Kent. When his father built on the hill, east of town, Thomas drove the oxen which hauled the material.

“Jerry Weakly says that Thomas was in the habit of arguing imaginary law cases as he walked to and from school. After he left Hanover College, he went to a law school in Pennsylvania, and when he was through his studies, came home and commenced to practice law.

“I think he was too young when his father quit the tanning business to have done much work in the tanyard.”

Another gentleman who knew Governor Hendricks in

early life, tells the following anecdote of his first case in court:

“Major Powell and Major Hendricks were neighbors and leading men of their day. Nathan, a son of the former, and Thomas, a son of the latter, grew up together, finished their educations about the same time, and opened their law offices within a few days of each other. Soon after hanging out their shingles, a petty case was to be tried before Esquire Lee, and the young attorneys volunteered to appear in it, one on either side. When the trial came off, the Squire’s office was filled with the friends of the young barristers, anxious to hear their maiden speeches, and a lot of fine apples were procured and held ready to be given to him who won the case. Hendricks won it and received the apples, which he generously divided among his friends.”

Early in life the peculiarities of Mr. Hendricks’ talent took form and thus he was guided into the profession of all others for which he was best qualified by nature. In all the vicissitudes of political fortune he returns again to his first love, the law, and always with unbounded success. The boy walking back and forth, to and from the country school-house and arguing, in an imaginary court, supposititious law cases, is the father and the prototype of the man, who has shone so brilliantly in forensic contests in the legal arena, and who, in the halls of the national Legislature, has argued the grander laws of government and reform.

To look at the calm grandeur of Mr. Hendricks’ face in his maturity—a face that conveys to all who meet him the impression that he is no ordinary man—one cannot but wonder if the face of the youth did not, in like manner, impress the beholder with the idea of his superiority to his comrades and his surroundings. This, however, could

hardly have been, or his words and actions would have been carefully noted and remembered, and there would be an ample store of anecdotes and materials for his biographers.

It is true that his maturer years teem with such materials; great speeches that thrilled the nation; bold battling against corruption, tyranny and evil legislation, and a grand patriotism that recalls the noble simplicity of the golden age of the Republic, but the boyish whims and fancies, the aspirations of youth, and even the actions and indications of childhood—topics of undying interest to the popular mind—have almost entirely escaped the recording pencils of friends and admirers.

The public life of such a man, however, is not without its paramount interest, especially to those who are just growing into manhood's estate, since it is a bold and unbroken record of honor, honesty and ability. From its open pages, that do not fear investigation, nor dread the searching gaze of truth, may be conned a lesson of inestimable worth. Here we may read the legislation of a statesman, the nobility of an honest man and the deathless devotion of the purest patriotism.

Can the youth of the present day learn nothing from the life of this man of the people, this advocate of justice and equality, whose democracy is not in name alone, but is as broad as the universe, and deep as the boundless and fathomless realms of space? Such a man is Thomas A. Hendricks, and though of his life's trivial incidents, that tickle the fancy and amuse for a brief space, we may not gather as many as we could wish, yet of the deathless and enduring monuments of his words and actions, thank heaven! there is no dearth.

CHAPTER XIII.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MR. HENDRICKS.

MR. HENDRICKS AS GOVERNOR.—HIS PUBLIC RECEPTIONS.—NEITHER NIGGARD NOR EXTRAVAGANT.—HIS OFFICIAL HOSPITALITY.—BOARDING AT THE BATES HOUSE.—THE OLD LAW FIRM.—THE HOME ON TENNESSEE STREET.—CULTURE AND REFINEMENT.—HAPPY SURROUNDINGS.—AN IDEAL HOME.—PURE AND PATRIOTIC.—A CLEAN LIFE.—A TRIP TO EUROPE.—THE RECEPTION AT LONDON.—DIVIDING THE HONORS.—REVISITS EUROPE.—AN OLDER NOT A BETTER CIVILIZATION.—SEDUCTIONS OF COURTS.—A PATRIOTIC DECLARATION.—THE PRAIRIE CABIN.—KING-CURSED COUNTRIES.—HOME AGAIN.—A PERFECT OVATION.—THE SERENADE.—SPEECHES AND FESTIVITIES.—A GRAND OLD ROMAN.—A PLEASANT EVENING.—A WITTY TALKER.—CHARMS LOST IN REPORTING.—THE STIMULUS OF ANTAGONISM.—AUTHOR AND FINANCIER.—MR. HENDRICKS INTERRUPTED.—THE SHRIEKING OF THE LOON.—A STIRING ANECDOTE.—A TEMPERATE MIND.

When Mr Hendricks occupied the office of Chief Executive of Indiana, he lived in good though not extravagant style, it being one of the characteristics of the man that he is not at all addicted to vanity or show. During the sessions of the Legislature, his public receptions were sufficiently frequent to display his hospitable nature, but these receptions were truly Democratic, in that they lacked the stiff formality and ceremoniousness that some officials endeavor to give to every thing connected with public station.

For some time after his retirement from office he and Mrs. Hendricks boarded at the Bates House in Indianapolis, having given up housekeeping. At this time it was that the Governor rejoined his old law firm, composed of ex-Governor Baker, Oscar B. Hurd, Abram W. Hendricks

and himself. While at the Bates House, the hospitality of the Governor was as generous as ever, his reception rooms being open to all friends and callers. Eventually leaving the hotel, a plain substantial brick building on Tennessee street was selected as a home, and there is no more pleasant home in America.

Everything that education, taste and refinement can add to native goodness and unbounded hospitality may be found here, and though externally there is nothing grand or imposing about the house, yet that "soul of the building," the inhabitants, gives to it the grand charms of geniality and culture. The pervading tone is one of morality and intellect, making it an ideal picture of domestic content and tranquil, abiding happiness.

Is it wonderful that from such a domestic life Governor Hendricks carries forth into the arenas of law and politics a purity and wholesome cleanliness of conduct that are equalled by few public men? It is well that there are still such men, who challenge our admiration, not only for their public morals in the midst of the bribery, corruption and fraud that have, under Republican rule, become fashionable, but also merit the respect of all by a private life unstained even by the suspicion of guilt or shame.

In the summer of 1877, Governor Hendricks was advised by his physician to make a trip to Europe as a relaxation from the cares of his profession, which had begun to make some inroads upon his robust constitution, and accompanied by his constant companion, his wife, he remained abroad for over two months. While in London, the pair attended the reception given by U. S. Minister Pierrepont to General Grant, and the great American statesman fairly divided the honors with the General.

Last winter Governor and Mrs. Hendricks again visited Europe, traveling extensively on the Continent, viewing intelligently and critically the older civilization of the Old World as compared with that of the American Republic. His patriotism withstood the seductions of the meretricious glare of courts and the flatteries of earth's grandest potentates and he often declares that "a log cabin on one of the boundless prairies of the Great West is preferable to a palace in the freedom stifling atmosphere of King-cursed Europe."

Returning in June to "the home of the brave and the land of the free," the night after his arrival at his old home in Indianapolis he received a perfect ovation from his neighbors regardless of creed, sect, or politics. Preceded by a silver cornet band they marched in procession to his residence to welcome back the sage Ulysses, who had found no spot of earth so sweet as his old home. After a glorious serenade, Governor Hendricks made the crowd a speech in his usual genial vein and ex-Senator McDonald, another grand old Roman, also addressed them.

After the crowd had dispersed, a few chosen friends sat until the "wee sma' hours," in genial converse and passed the time recalling the memories of "auld long syne." It is in such a scene that the Governor is at his very best. Quaint conceits, entertaining anecdotes, apt quotations and fanciful word pictures follow each other in rapid succession when once the flood gates of his wit are opened. Malice itself could not withstand the sunny good nature and utter absence of anything spiteful or bitter in his droll raillery concerning men and matters.

In the Governor's mode of telling an anecdote, or making a speech, there is a subtle charm of manner and delivery

that utterly fail of being transmitted to paper. The notes of his speeches furnished to reporters are also wanting in the garnishment of anecdotes, witticism and extemporaneous bursts of eloquence which, without marring its symmetry or destroying its balance, he injects into every speech.

To this charm of mannerism, there is a cool readiness possessed by but few orators, and the opponent that hopes to confuse him by interruptions or questions will find that he has made a lamentable failure. It is under the stimulus of such unfair antagonism that some of the brightest and best points of his speeches have been called forth extemporaneously. Of this fact Mr. William Wesley Woollen, the author and financier, gives the following illustration:

“In the summer of 1872 Mr. Hendricks was nominated by the Democracy for Governor of Indiana, and made an elaborate speech on accepting the nomination. The weather was intensely hot, and the windows of the building in which he spoke were lowered for the purpose of ventilation. Party spirit ran high at the time and some of his political enemies organized a plan to interrupt and annoy him.

“A couple of drums and a fife were brought into requisition and made to do duty in the dirty work. Negro musicians were employed to manipulate these instruments, and as this band, followed by a lot of rowdies, yelling for Morton, marched and countermarched past the house, the speaker's voice was completely drowned.

“This greatly incensed his friends, and one of them arose to his feet and proposed to rally a force and ‘clean out the niggers.’ The proposition took like wildfire, and as the excited men were leaving to carry the project into execution, Mr. Hendricks ran to the front of the platform as

though he would jump to the parquet below, and when he reached its verge, exclaimed in his loudest tone: 'Let them alone. The loon shrieks the loudest when it hears the storm coming. The rowdy loons on the street hear the thunder of an outraged people and see the lightning of the coming storm. Let them shriek.'

'His words went to the nerve-centers like electricity from a battery. They tingled in the ears and made the blood run fast. At the moment some one shouted, 'Hurrah for Hendricks,' and 'Hurrah for Hendricks' shook the building from foundation to roof. The scene was one of the best illustrations of the power of words to sway the human mind ever witnessed in the country. The writer has heard many things that stirred the heart and made the blood gallop, but nothing that approximated in effect these words of Governor Hendricks.'

This incident shows the temperate evenness of Mr. Hendricks' mind as much as its brilliancy, and there is no rarer nor grander quality than that of moderation. Even in uttering the words, that could sway men's hearts as the storm bends the reeds, though the victim of a political outrage he was the counsellor of calmness and thus he turned what might have become a furious riot, into a proper scorn for the base methods of Radicalism, which has ever been characterized by sound rather than soundness, and by noise rather than argument and legitimate opposition.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE NOMINATION OF HENDRICKS.

A DRAMATIC POLITICAL SCENE.—INDESCRIBABLE ENTHUSIASM.—FRIENDLY HOPES.—CANVASSING THE CANDIDATES.—VICE-PRESIDENTIAL POSSIBILITIES.—DISTURBANCE IN THE INDIANA DELEGATION.—A BITTER COMPROMISE.—THE VARIOUS FAVORITES.—THE RE-ASSEMBLING OF THE CONVENTION.—WITHDRAWAL OF TAMMANY.—BADLY BATTERED BY BRAGG.—DEMAGOGUE BUTLER.—CALIFORNIA LEADS OFF.—A GEORGIAN PANEGYRIC.—GENERAL BLACK DECLINES.—ZEPHYRS AND CYCLONES.—A DEMOCRAT'S DUTY.—A MOTION TO NOMINATE BY ACCLAMATION.—THE INDIANA DELEGATION.—A WONDERFUL UPRISING.—AULD LANG SYNE.—“OLD HUNDRED” AND “AMERICA.”—“HOME, SWEET HOME.”—THE CONVENTION ADJOURNS.

The nomination of Hendricks for the Vice-Presidency was one of the most dramatic things ever witnessed in politics—in fact it was just like a *coup de theatre*. On the day before, his name was mentioned by Palmer, of Illinois, when he called out, “Illinois casts one vote for Thomas A. Hendricks,” and a scene of indescribable excitement and enthusiasm ensued—men shouted, cheered and hurraed for half an hour as though they had suddenly become delirious, and it was only by the utmost efforts of the Chairman, seconded by the musical strains of the bands, that the tumult was finally quieted.

For a time it was believed that the furor would succeed in placing Mr. Hendricks' name before the Convention as its candidate for the Presidency, but the public sentiment was too strongly in favor of the New York reformer, and finally the excitement was quieted. During the recess of the next day there was a very lively time at the headquar-

ters of the various State delegations. All of the available candidates for the Vice-Presidency were actively canvassed; amongst them McDonald, Hendricks, Hoadly, Carlisle, Vilas, General Rosecrans and General Stoneman being oftenest mentioned.

In the Indiana delegation a disposition was evinced to throw McDonald overboard and present in his stead the name of Hendricks. Quite a disturbance was created by this determination, and it was finally agreed, that since the State could not present a solid delegation for any of her sons, she should place no one in nomination. This was a bitter compromise for the McDonald men, who had felt certain of the second place for their candidate, but it was the best they could do under the newly developed circumstances.

Vilas was insisted upon as the best man by the Wisconsin delegation and they made energetic efforts to proselyte. From the first, however, the man from Wisconsin was an impossible candidate, since there was nothing to hope from his State. The Californians battled nobly for Rosecrans and proclaimed his ability to carry the Pacific Slope, the German vote and the old war veterans, while some of the Ohioans did their best for Hoadly. The prize, all felt, must go to Indiana. She alone of all the sisterhood was the Cinderilla that could wear the golden slipper; she was the weight that must tip the beam in November, if victory would perch upon the banners of the Democracy.

At 5:30 the Convention re-assembled and every one felt that a few hours would decide as to who should wear the mantle of the Vice-Presidency. Mr. Kelly of Tammany and the braves of the wigwam, satisfied with the drubbing they had received from General Bragg, of Wisconsin, and

having failed to defeat the man whose stubborn honesty had rendered futile their thieving schemes in New York, had left the Convention and were busily preparing to return home. The Democracy of the country at large had given to them and to that chief of disreputable demagogues, Ben Butler, a patient hearing and had then quietly ignored them.

A resolution intended to indorse certain provisions of the Morrison bill was first sought to be introduced, at which from every delegation and from the galleries there arose loud cries of "no, no." Chairman Vilas said that under the rule the proper thing would be to refer the matter to the Committee on Resolutions. This was hardly disposed of before the nominations for the Vice-Presidency began.

Far off California led off with her chosen hero, Rosecrans and Colorado quickly followed with Joseph E. McDonald. A delegate from Georgia, rising in his place, shouted "Let the dead past bury its dead" and then he began a panegyric upon the citizen soldiery of America and wound up by putting in nomination "one of the bravest of the brave, a man as true as steel and honest as the day is long, General John C. Black, of Illinois.

Rising gracefully from his seat amidst the Illinois delegates, a large man, of military bearing and magnificent appearance, thanked the Georgian for having presented his name and then stating that he was the friend of Joseph E. McDonald and pledged to his support, said that so long as McDonald was before the Convention he could not permit his own name to be mentioned.

Kansas presented its first Democratic Governor, George W. Glick, for the distinguished honor of second place on the ticket. The applause that greeted each of these nomina-

tions was hearty, but compared with that which followed the next was as the gentle zephyr compared to the furious cyclone. Rising from his seat in the delegation of the Keystone State, ex-Senator Wallace placed in nomination Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana.

The delirious enthusiasm of the day before at the mention of the name of one of the party's defrauded chiefs was again exhibited. For over ten minutes delegates and spectators cheered rapturously. These demonstrations were renewed when, a moment later, Connecticut, through her spokesman, seconded the nomination. It was such a genuine outburst of respect and admiration as but seldom greets any man. Chairman Menzies, as soon as the Convention was called to order, arose and said: "Mr. Hendricks is not and will not be a candidate for the Vice-Presidency."

To this Governor Waller replied that Mr. Hendricks had no right to decline the nomination of the Democratic party for the Vice-Presidency, an office to which it had once elected him, and of which he had been defrauded. The Democratic party demanded of Thomas A. Hendricks, as it had a right to demand of any of its followers, that he accept the nomination, "and," exclaimed Governor Waller, "we will not take no for it—I move to nominate Hendricks by acclamation."

The speaker sat down, cheered to the echo, and Colorado, by the request of Indiana, having withdrawn the name of McDonald, Kansas withdrew Glick. California made no effort to breast the popular storm with Rosecrans, and Ex-Governor Hubbard, of Texas, who had officiated as temporary chairman of the Convention, seconded Waller's motion to nominate Hendricks by acclamation. There was now no other candidate in nomination, but it was sug-

gested that instead of nominating Hendricks by acclamation, the roll of the States be called and each delegate place himself on record.

The motion prevailed, and the roll was called. When Indiana was reached, it was evident that the delegation was in a state of bad feeling. Menzies asked that the State be passed, and it was done. When the list was finished, Indiana was again called, and Menzies said the delegation desired to be excused. The Hendricks men in the delegation wanted to stick to their pledge made in the delegation meeting, and the McDonald men were so indignant at the course events had taken, that they did not want to go on record for Hendricks, and, of course, not against him. The Convention, however, by loud shouts, demanded that Indiana be recorded, and finally Menzies said that there being no other candidate in the field, Indiana would vote solid for Hendricks.

This was the signal for the greatest uprising of the Convention. The standards of the States were snatched from their places and were carried forward to the platform by excited delegates, where they were waved together making a most animated picture. While the Convention cheered, yelled, clapped and whistled, a procession was formed of the standard bearers, who marched through the aisles in single file. As they did so, the band struck up "Auld Lang Syne," and the entire assemblage joined in the grand old melody, while handkerchiefs, hats, canes, umbrellas, fans, and even coats were waved frantically in all parts of the six-acre field of humanity. After a breathing moment the band struck up "Old Hundred," and again the welkin rang and the timbers of the great building trembled. Another interval of a moment, and then the band led off with

“America,” the volume of the melody being swelled to tremendous proportions. The climax was reached finally, when the opening notes of “Home Sweet Home” sounded from the gallery. People went fairly mad in their enthusiasm, and as 11,000 voices joined in that most popular of all American airs, the sound reached proportions sublime. There was wonderful harmony in the music, the number of ladies present being over fifteen hundred, and the soprano part being effectively rendered.

No more impressive finish ever marked a political convention, and the strength of its effect was such that a great many men and women actually wept. These unparalled scenes consumed nearly an hour. Then quiet came, the customary resolutions of thanks were adopted, and the Democratic Convention of 1884 passed into history.

When the Convention adjourned, the thousands who called at the Palmer House to congratulate Hendricks, found that he had left suddenly for Indiana an hour before. The modesty of the man dreaded a further ovation, and he had fled incontinently from his friends to hide himself in the bosom of his family.

CHAPTER XV.

MR. HENDRICKS NOTIFIED OF HIS NOMINATION.

ARRIVAL OF THE COMMITTEE AT SARATOGA.—THE PRELIMINARY CONSULTATION.—SCENE OF THE NOTIFICATION.—ADDRESS OF HON. W. F. VILAS.—READING OF THE COMMITTEE'S COMMUNICATION BY MR. BELL.—REPLY OF MR. HENDRICKS.—AN AUGUST BODY.—A VERY GREAT CONVENTION.—SELECTING A TICKET.—A DEMOCRAT'S DUTY.—THE POWER OF THE VICE-PRESIDENCY.—THE CASTING VOTE.—PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE.—WHAT MAY OCCUR —HONORED BY THE NOMINATION.—THE RIGHT OF RIGHTS.—PERTINENT QUESTIONS.—THE LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.—INTRODUCTIONS AND HAND-SHAKINGS.—THE CEREMONY CONCLUDED.

Part of the committee appointed to notify Mr. Hendricks of his nomination arrived at Saratoga on the night of the 29th of July, and were joined by the other members on the morning of the 30th. Mr. Hendricks was stopping at the Grand Union Hotel, and here the committee held a consultation at 11:30 o'clock to take action on the matter. A committee consisting of Messrs. Vilas of Wisconsin, Waller of Connecticut, Hooker of Mississippi, and Stockton of New Jersey was appointed to confer with Mr. Hendricks and ascertain which would be the most feasible hour to make the formal notification. The committee returned and stated that Mr. Hendricks would be ready at 2 o'clock, and the ceremonies would take place in the large parlor at that time.

Mr. Waller of Connecticut introduced a resolution extending thanks to Hon. W. F. Vilas, Chairman, and Nicholas M. Bell, Secretary of the committee, for the dignified and

intelligent manner in which they had performed their duties.

Long before the hour for the ceremony to take place the parlor of the hotel was filled with handsomely dressed ladies and gentlemen, seated in a circle around the space reserved for the committee. At 2:10, amid loud applause from the guests, the committee marched in and stood in a circle: immediately after Mr. Hendricks followed and took a position in the centre. Upon his arrival, Chairman Vilas delivered the following address:

“Gov. Thos. A. Hendricks of Indiana—The great National Council of the Constitutional Democracy of the Union, held at Chicago within this month of July, constituted this committee now before you, by selection from each of the several States and Territories of our country, and commissioned it as the official voice of the party to declare to you in fitting terms and with appropriate ceremony, not only in testimony of its respect for your abilities and character, but in pledge of its consideration of the interests of the nation, that you have been nominated by that party to the people to be their Vice-President of the United States for the ensuing term of that exalted trust. That honorable duty we have journeyed hither from every part of this wide land with pride and pleasure in this manner to discharge. The interesting circumstances of that nomination cannot be unknown to you, and could not but be gratifying to the sensibilities of any right-minded man. It was well understood in that Convention that such a distinction was won there unsought and undesired by you. Yet, sir, after others were presented, when your name was suggested, followed by repeated seconding, every other was withdrawn, and amidst universal acclaim the roll-call responded

your unanimous choice; then in exquisite enthusiasm the Convention, with a vast surrounding assemblage, joined with cheer and hymn in a prolonged outburst of gratified satisfaction. Sir, though Indiana's favored citizens may enjoy with just pride a peculiar honor in the distinguished services you have rendered your party, your State and the nation, and may feel a peculiar attachment for the endearing qualities of your heart and mind, be assured the Democracy of the nation participate in that sense of honor and affectionate regard in hardly less degree. They witnessed your long and honorable career, sometimes in the faithful performance of highly public trusts, sometimes nobly contending as a soldier in the ranks for the principles of constitutional liberty, but always with devotion and unwavering fidelity to the interests and rights of the people; and now they confidently expect of your patriotism to yield all professional wishes and undertake the labors of their candidacy, as on their part the people can securely repose upon the ripe experience of your years and wisdom to most satisfactorily meet all the responsibilities of the high office to which you will be called.

“The Convention felt, as the nation will approve, that it was serving the spirit of the Constitution when it designated for a Vice-President, a citizen worthy and competent to execute the highest functions of its chief magistracy. It is an especial desire of the Democracy, sir, to see you invested with this particular dignity, because they know, as now all the world knows, that once you were rightfully given title to it by the people, and wrongfully denied its possession by the success of machination, of fraud and conspiracy; and the vindication of exact justice will be most complete when you shall be re-elected, and that you may be

now triumphantly inaugurated to your rightful chair of office this sentiment has given direction to the personal consideration and admiration of Democracy so abundantly manifest in the recent Convention, and will stir a responsive throb in the hearts of all good men. In finishing the grateful office which the partial favor of these gentlemen, and my distinguished associates, has assigned me, permit us, one and all, to express the highest esteem and regard in their enduring execution of duty. The committee have prepared and personally signed a written communication, which the Secretary will now read.”

At this point Mr. Bell, the Secretary, read the following address:

NEW YORK STATE, July 23, 1884.

Hon. THOS. A. HENDRICKS of Indiana:

“SIR—The honor and pleasure of officially notifying you of your nomination as the candidate of the national Democratic party in the election about to occur for the office of Vice-President of the United States were by the Convention recently held at Chicago, conferred upon the undersigned as a committee of that body, designated to represent in our persons the several States and Territories. In grateful performance of the duty we are entitled to express the admiration of the Convention and the party for your long services, personal qualities and character, and for your distinguished public service and maintenance of the principles and objects which are believed best calculated to promote the security, happiness, and welfare of the people; and especial satisfaction in the minds of all good men must follow your election from the reflection that in your person the testimony will be peculiarly given, that the American people are never conscious or willing instruments of the

great public crime, by which through fraudulent returns and flagrant disregard of truth and justice others were seated in those high offices to which Sam'l J. Tilden and yourself were rightfully chosen in 1876; as well as of the patriotism of your great submission in confident reliance upon the justice of the people for vindication. An engrossed copy of the declaration of principles and policy made by the Convention is submitted with this communication for your examination, and we may surely expect your loyal devotion in the cause of our party to accept the candidacy imposed by your nomination. We have the honor to be with great respect.

NICHOLAS M. BELL,
Secretary.

WM. F. VILAS,
President.

And the remaining members of the committee.”

To the address of Hon. W. F. Vilas and the communication of the committee Mr. Hendricks replied as follows:

“MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE COMMITTEE:—I cannot realize that a man should ever stand in the presence of a committee representing a more august body of men than that which you represent. In the language of another, the Convention was large in numbers, august in culture and patriotic in sentiments; and may I not add to that, that because of the power and the greatness and the virtues and the party which it represented, it was itself and in every respect a very great Convention. [Applause.] The delegates came from all the States and Territories, and I believe, too, from the District of Columbia. [Applause.] They came clothed with authority to express judgment and opinion upon all those questions which are not settled by constitutional law, for the purpose of passing upon those questions and select-

ing a ticket for the people. That Convention assembled; they decided upon the principles that they would adopt as a platform; they selected the candidates that they would propose to the party for their support, and that the Convention's work was theirs. I have not reached the period when it is proper for me to consider the strength and force of the statements made in the platform. It is enough for me to know that it comes at your hands from that Convention addressed to my patriotic devotion to the Democratic party. [Applause.] I appreciate the honor that is done me. I need not question, but at the same time, that I accept the honor from you and from the Convention, I feel that the duties and responsibility of the office rest upon me also. I know that sometimes it is understood that the particular office, that of Vice-President, does not involve much responsibility, and as a general thing that is so; but sometimes it comes to represent very great responsibilities, and it may be so in the near future; for at this time the Senate of the United States stands almost equally divided between the two great parties, and it may be that those two great parties shall so exactly differ that the Vice-President of the United States shall have to decide upon questions of law by the exercise of the casting vote. [Applause.] The responsibility would then become very great. It would not, then, be the responsibility of representing a State or district. It would be the responsibility of representing the whole country, and the obligation would be to the judgment of the whole country, and that vote, when thus cast, would be in obedience to the just expectations and requirements of the people of the United States. It might be, gentlemen, that upon another occasion great responsibility would attach to this office. It might occur that under circumstances of

some difficulty—I don't think it will be at the next election, but it may occur under circumstances of some difficulty—the President of the Senate will have to take his part in the counting of the electoral vote; and allow me to say that that duty is not to be discharged in obedience to any set of men or any party, but in obedience to a higher authority. [Applause.]

“Gentlemen, you have referred to the fact, I am honored by this nomination in a very special degree. I accept the suggestion that in this candidacy I will represent the right of the people to choose their own rulers, that right that is above all; that lies beneath all. If they are denied the right to choose their own officers according to their own judgment, what shall become of the rights of the people at all? What shall become of free government? If people select not their officers, how shall they control the laws, their administration and their execution; so that in suggesting that in this candidacy I represent that right of the people, a great honor has devolved upon me by the confidence of the Convention? As soon as it may be convenient and possible to do so, I will address you more formally in respect to the letter you have given me. I thank you, gentlemen.”

At the close of Mr. Hendricks' remarks, hearty applause was given and he was introduced to each member of the committee and a general hand-shaking followed, after which the people paid their respects to Mr. Hendricks, and then quietly dispersed.

CHAPTER XVI.

HONEST REPUBLICAN TESTIMONY.

POLITICAL ETIQUETTE.—THE MULLIGAN AND THE ZUNI.—THE TIMES ON THE TICKET.—PRINCIPLE REPUDIATED.—REFUSING THEIR CANDIDATES.—A SUPERSERVICEABLE PECKSNIFF.—BLAINE'S HABIT OF LYING.—A VULNERABLE RECORD.—GLOBE-DEMOCRAT STRICTURES.—UNCLEAN AND DISHONEST.—EATING CROW.—THE HERALD'S CHANGE OF BASE.—THOROUGHLY BAD NOMINATIONS.—HARPER'S WEEKLY ON BLAINE.—THE MULLIGAN LETTERS.—INNOCENCE NOT PROVED.—A CONVENIENT ILLNESS.—WILLIAM WALTER PHELPS'S LETTER.—ANGER AND DESPERATION.—THE HOME VISITOR'S CREED.—GENERAL McDONALD ON LOGAN.—ONE OF THE WHISKY RING.—HENRY WARD BEECHER TALKS.—THE INDEPENDENT CONVENTION.—THE DECENT REPUBLICANS FOR CLEVELAND.

It would hardly be in good taste to say so much as we have about the candidates on one of the tickets, and not mention those on the other. It would be in equally as bad taste to accept Democratic estimates of these gentlemen, and hence whatever we may be led to record of Messrs. Mulligan Blaine and Zuni Logan shall be carefully selected from the most careful, the most intelligently edited and the most widely circulated Republican newspapers in the land, supplemented by the ablest and purest Republican leaders. We begin with the "New York Times," which says:

"A hundred or more gentlemen met in this city last evening to do what they could to defeat Blaine and Logan. These gentlemen are Republicans, and they speak for Republicans—for large numbers of Republicans in New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey and other States further away. They believe that in nominating Blaine and Logan, the Republican party or its representatives at Chi-

cago acting for it, repudiated about nine-tenths of all that is decent, honest, worthy and reputable in the principles and professions of the party. They believe that with such candidates the party works for bad and not for good government, and they refuse to go with it."

That superserviceable Pecksniff of the press, the "St. Louis Globe-Democrat," says of Mr. Blaine, in its issue of April 1st, 1884:

"We do not know that it makes any particular difference what church, if any, Mr. Blaine is most attached to; but the testimony raises a grave suspicion that Mr. Blaine is so loose and fluctuating in his religious convictions as not to be above *the habit of lying about them.*"

On the 3rd of the same month it says:

"His *record is vulnerable*, and there is not another man in the party who would be sure to create factional feeling. He stands far outside of the limits within which a wise selection must come."

In the "Globe-Democrat" of May 23d, two weeks before Blaine was nominated, there was reprinted from the Washington "Republican" the report of an interview with the editor of the first named paper, from which we extract the following:

"As between Arthur and Blaine what have you to say? Who would be the strongest before the people?"

"There is just this difference—one can be elected and the other cannot. Blaine cannot carry the full strength of the Republican party to begin with, and his *repulsive, rotten record will repel the independent or detached voters.* *He is an unclean man, and the people will not have him.* To nominate him would be to court defeat. He stands *self-convicted of prostituting the high offices he has held to build*

up a private fortune; of cohabiting with corruption for dishonest moneys. Oh, no; his record would damn him."

That the "Globe-Democrat" would support this man, whom it calls rotten, unclean, repulsive, dishonest and a liar, was to be expected of a journal of its amount of principle, and we have only given the extracts from it and placed it in decent company to show how the Republican candidates are regarded by even those papers which still support them.

The New York "Herald" says:

"The 'Herald' puts at the head of its columns the Democratic ticket for President and Vice-President of the United States. We congratulate the Democratic party upon the work of its Convention at Chicago, and the opportunity it offers to the American people, through a union of patriotic voters, by whatever name they call themselves—Democrats, Independents, Labor Reformers or whatever else—to redeem the country from the disgrace and peril to which the Republican party has plotted to expose it by the thoroughly bad nominations of Blaine and Logan."

"Harper's Weekly," "more in sorrow than in anger," says:

"In the spring of 1876, when Mr. Blaine was a candidate for the Republican nomination at Cincinnati, there were rumors of some extraordinary railroad transactions upon his part, which became so constant and pressing, that on the 24th of April he made a statement in the House, *supposing the Mulligan letters to have been destroyed*, which will be found in the "Record" at that time, and which has been often reprinted recently. This statement was accepted by "Harper's Weekly," and by the Republican press and public opinion generally, as entirely satisfactory, in the absence of further evidence. This evidence, however, was furnished

by the investigation of a committee of the House, and the minutes of the testimony have been published. The Mulligan letters were obtained by Mr. Blaine from a witness of that name, with the understanding that they were to be returned. He kept them, however, and on the 5th of June, the pressure of public opinion still continuing, he read *parts* of the letters in the House. A few days afterward the Convention met, and Mr. Blaine *fell ill*. *The investigation was arrested by his illness, and a report was not submitted.*

The campaign of 1876 began immediately, and the subject dropped from the public mind. In 1880 Mr. Blaine was again a candidate, but as the imminent danger was the third term conspiracy, the Mulligan affair did not play a prominent part. In the spring of 1884 Mr. Blaine's candidacy was again urged. The old Stalwart power was broken, and public attention was once more turned to his whole career, including the railroad transactions, which were carefully considered, and led to a strong protest against his nomination. Some weeks before the Convention, Mr. Blaine's intimate personal friend, Mr. William Walter Phelps, published a letter in explanation of Mr. Blaine's railroad transactions, in the course of which he covertly attacked Mr. Edmunds by detailing certain affairs *in which he contended that Mr. Edmunds was just as guilty as Mr. Blaine*, but affirmed that both were innocent. This produced a curt and conclusive reply from Mr. Edmunds, and an exposure of the fallacy of Mr. Phelps's defense from the "Evening Post," to which journal his letter was addressed.

All this correspondence was published in "Harper's Weekly" of May 10, 1884, together with two editorial articles, in which the "Weekly" said that *the explanation of Mr. Phelps was not satisfactory*. After repeating the

charge, the "Weekly" said: "This is the charge against Mr. Blaine, which the letter of Mr. Phelps does not explain.

* * * Indeed *both the substance and the method of the Blaine defense show anger and desperation BUT NOT THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF IRREPROACHABLE CONDUCT.*" As no satisfactory explanation was ever made, it was impossible that "Harpe's Weekly" should advocate the election of Mr. Blaine unless it were willing to urge upon its readers the support of a candidate for the Presidency *whose final explanation of matters fatally affecting his official conduct the paper had declared to be unsatisfactory.*

Speaking of Blaine's prohibition sentiments, the New Jersey "Home Visitor" says:

"A man so prominently before the public, in himself today a total abstainer from principle, and at heart and from conviction a Prohibitionist, and not to have the courage of his convictions, especially in this hour of agitation and widespread indignation against the rum traffic, when the public mind is a seething caldron and public feeling is at fever heat, is neither a great statesman nor safe leader."

Gen. John McDonald, Supervisor of Internal Revenue under President Grant, and who was one of the principals in the great Whisky Ring of 1875, whose operations led to the indictment of several of its members, including the President's private secretary, Gen. Babcock, says that before his sentence he received a pledge from the President of immediate pardon. After he was lodged in jail the pardon was delayed for several months on the pretense of a fear of public opinion. "Then," says McDonald, over his own signature, "*I demanded my pardon under threats of exposure if it were not immediately granted, and I was released at once.*"

Secretary Bristow was the means of breaking up this Whisky Ring. He had a hard task, but he finally accomplished it. When he discovered that rascalities were going on, his first step to raid the thieves was an order transferring the Supervisors in the several districts. This would, of course, have broken up the combinations and laid bare the frauds and conspiracies at once. The order was suddenly and at the time unaccountably countermanded by President Grant.

In his "Secrets of the Great Whisky Ring" General McDonald says: "It has always been a matter of curiosity among the people of this country to learn who were among the prominent men who approached the President for the purpose of having him revoke the order transferring Supervisors. I will here state that among others, were Senators Clayton and Dorsey, of Arkansas; Morton, of Indiana, and Logan, of Illinois."

This would seem to show that his Zuni Indian business was not his first attempt at crooked money-making.

Henry Ward Beecher says: "I am a Republican and I am opposed to Mr. Blaine, because I think that his election would be the most damaging thing for the Republican party that could occur. For this reason I shall vote for Grover Cleveland and I shall use whatever influence I am possessed of to further his election, and this I shall do, not because I am a Democrat, for I am not, but because I am a Republican. After working for fifteen years to bring the Republican party up to a higher plane on revenue reform, civil-service reform and so on, I think it was an insult to all good Republicans to nominate a man like Blaine, who more than any other man antagonizes those reforms. I resolved at the first not to vote for him, and if a good man was put up

against him I resolved to work for his election. Such a man I am glad to say, has been nominated. I voted for Mr. Grover Cleveland for Governor two years ago, and I have never regretted it. He has made a good Governor."

But what is the use to prolong the list. Those who want further confirmation of the dishonesty and demagoguery of the candidates on the Republican ticket can take up the reported proceedings of the convention of Republicans and Independents lately held in New York. A list of the names of the members represents, with a very few exceptions, everything that is decent and intelligent in the Republican party. They unanimously condemned Blaine and Logan as unworthy representatives of the party, and endorsed the Democratic ticket.

CHAPTER XVII.

A STARTLING RECORD.

THE "TRIBUNE'S" PET NAME FOR LOGAN.—AN ENJOYABLE EXTRACT.
 —A KNOWLEDGE OF GREEK, LATIN, FRENCH AND SPANISH.—
 LITTLE OR NO KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH.—MR. LYMAN REBUKED.
 —THE TRICK MULE OF DEBATE.—A DISMEMBERED DICTIONARY.
 —A MAN OF LUNGS.—LUDICROUS BUT CORRECT.—A COMPLI-
 MENT TO ILLINOIS.—CONSISTENT UNIONISM.—EXTRACTS AND
 AFFIDAVITS.—ABUSE OF DOUGLAS.—LOGAN AS A SECESSIONIST.
 —A CLOSE CALL.—LOGAN'S LETTER TO HAYNEE.—HIS OPIN-
 ION OF REPUBLICANS.—DENOUNCES MR. LINCOLN.—HISTORI-
 CAL REFERENCES.—NEGROES AND MULATTOES.—LOGAN AS A
 LEGISLATOR.—A PALTRY CREATURE.

In paying our respects to the opposing candidate we cannot forbear reproducing an extract from the "New York Tribune" of January 15th, 1875, in regard to a Republican statesman, whom it had dubbed with the pet name of "Dirty Work Logan." The extract is the more enjoyable when we remember that a few days since the "Tribune" exhausted its store of scorn and satire upon the Hon. Theodore Lyman, of Massachusetts, for daring to say that Mr. Logan was an illiterate man. It reminds Mr. Lyman that Mr. Logan speaks French and Spanish fluently, and has been known to correct a Harvard graduate in his pronunciation of Latin. One of his biographers alludes, as if incidentally, to his thorough acquaintance with Greek and Latin. What a pity it is that he has not paid some little attention to his mother tongue.

But now for the extract:

"Pranced there in upon the arena of the great debate, like a trick mule in a circus, or a spavined nightmare on

the track of a beautiful dream—Logan of Illinois. There was a vision of mustaches, eyebrows and hair piled on each other in arches; a large brandishing of arms, a pose and stridulous war-whoop, much as though a picture of the Deerfield massacre had stepped out from the pages of our early history. Logan took the American Senate by its large, capacious ear. And then he went for his mother tongue. He smote it right and left, hip and thigh, and showed no mercy. Swinging the great broad-axe of his logic high in the air, he turned it ere it fell, and with the hammer side struck the language of sixty millions of people fairly in the face and mashed it beyond recognition.

“Under his stroke the floor of the American Senate was spattered with the remnants of a once proud vocabulary, and messengers, door-keepers and pages were covered from head to foot with the spray. In the fearful two hours which followed the first roar of his oration all the parts of speech were routed and put to flight. There were orphaned adjectives and widowed nouns; bachelor verbs driven to polygamy and polygamous verbs left lonely; conjunctions dissevered, prepositions scattered, adverbs disheveled and distorted and syntax flung into wild disorder. It was a great day for Logan.

“He set his teeth into the language as the untamed tiger of the jungles takes between his mouth and paw the wearing apparel of the wayfarer, and the ripping of it was heard through all the forest depths. It reverberated to the other end of the Capitol and sluggish Representatives lifted up their eyes and listened to the roar with terrified awe. Some started for the scene, but upon being told the cause of the disturbance in the brief communication, ‘Logan’s up,’ turned back with full assurance that they could hear

from that end of the Capitol all that was worth hearing. So through two hours Logan swung his beautiful arms over the heads of the Senate like the booms of a government derrick, while his chin churned the language like a pile-driver in a heavy sea, and the baffled reporters made wild plunges with their pencils to gather up his regurgitations for the printer.

“Ah! Logan is a great man—a statesman. When he throws his intellect into a question, whether it is of finance or self-government, or of sticking to the ship, something has got to come. And you may always know where to find him—to-wit, where he has always been, drawing pay from the government in some capacity. He lacks only fifteen or twenty things of being an orator. He has lungs.”

It would be difficult to find in the English language a more ludicrous and yet a more correct description of a public man. The self assertive ignorance of the man and his monumental egotism are all that prevent him from becoming pitifully pathetic, and they make him, to all minds less vulgar or better educated than his own, intolerably offensive. The “Tribune,” accounting for the English of Mr. Logan, and attributing it to “traces of the pioneer habits of a third of a century ago in Southern Illinois,” is anything but eulogistic of that State.

As to Mr. Logan’s early, earnest and “consistent Unionism,” as one of his biographers calls it, the following extracts and affidavits may throw some light upon it. This is an extract from a communication to a Southern Illinois paper dated “Murphysboro, Ill., May 6, 1876.”

“When Stephen A. Douglas, in the hall of the House of Representatives, in Springfield, had delivered that memorable address which bound the Democratic party of the

North to the support of the government, John A. Logan followed the exhausted and almost dying Senator to his rooms, and in the presence of many of the Senator's friends cursed and upbraided him for his attempt to 'sell the Democratic party to the Abolitionists,' and swore that the attempt should not succeed. During the sitting of the Circuit Court at McLeansboro, in Hamilton county, in May, 1861, while Hon. S. S. Marshall was addressing a Union meeting, Logan appeared, denounced the war and Judge Marshall and cursed the stars and stripes, and made an attempt to cut down the flag which was waving over the court house, being only prevented from doing so by the exertions of Mr. Chester Carpenter, Cloyd Crouch and others of his friends and followers. He was chiefly instrumental in raising Capt. Thorndyke Brooks' company of recruits for the rebel army; a company of which his brother-in-law, H. B. Cunningham, was orderly sergeant; and on the night when the company left Marion, Williamson county, he accompanied it ten miles on its way to Paducah, stood guard while the company slept and on parting from the members of the company, gave them his instructions and promised that he would soon be with them and would command their regiment."

At the same time the subjoined affidavit was published:

"State of Illinois, Alexander county, City of Cairo:

"I, John G. Wheatly, a resident of the city, county and State aforesaid, do solemnly swear that on the 28th day of May, 1861, I went from Williamson county, Illinois, to join Capt. H. B. Cunningham's company (G), of the Fifteenth Regiment, Tennessee volunteers; that Maj. Gen. John A. Logan, now a candidate for Congress-at-large, and who then

represented this, the Thirteenth Congressional district, was the chief person who raised said company, and persuaded me to join the same; that said Logan accompanied us (about seventy in number) in the night, part of the way from Williamson county to Paducah, the place designated for us to cross the Ohio river. We crossed at Paducah, according to John A. Logan's instructions, to evade Union troops, which he stated were stationed at Cairo. When Logan left us he agreed to meet us as soon as possible, and assigned as a reason for not then accompanying us that he wanted to settle his affairs at home and raise more troops. Logan, when he left, promised faithfully to join us soon and command our regiment in the Confederate service, but the next time we met him was at Belmont, in the Federal service, and in that fight Capt. Cunningham and I chased him so closely that he was compelled to dismount. We succeeded in capturing his horse, and delivered it to Gen. Gideon Pillow of the Confederate army. I served in the Confederate army from the above date until July 20, 1862, in Capt. Cunningham's company, and was honorably discharged at Tupelo, Mississippi. My son, R. L. Wheatly, Thompson Coder, Harry Hayes, William Tinker, Jackson Brown, Jackson Law, George Law, Joshua Law, Fleming Ghent, Martin Williams and others, all except the first, are now residing, or were when I last heard from them, in Marion, Williamson county, Illinois, were members of said company, and will attest the truth of this statement.

JOHN G. WHEATLY.

“Subscribed and sworn to before me this 30th day of September, A. D., 1868.

“JOHN Q. HARMON,

“Clerk of the Circuit Court of Alexander Co., Ill.”

To Judge I. N. Haynee, Cairo, Ill., Logan wrote:

“Since the election of Mr. Lincoln our country has sustained a loss of several hundred millions of dollars, as the first legitimate and grinding tax of dominant black Republicanism.

* * * If this pecuniary embarrassment, this stagnation and suffering in our industrial pursuits were all, time and wise counsels would soon clear the wreck. But, my dear sir, there is a darker picture in the sickening panorama of the day—a still greater calamity is on its march—the cables of the old ship of state are parting, a political earthquake is rending the federal arch, one pillar is already wrenched from our proud temple. * * *

“If we would pass this bitter cup from our lips I solemnly believe there is but one way: Let the old fire of patriotism burst from the great heart of the people, swing the political maniac, the fanatic and the reckless disseminist into silence. Let the stout-hearted millions of all sections command the peace, *requiring Abolitionists to cease their warfare upon institutions of sister States and mind their own business and let others alone.* Let the North attend to her own institutions and *allow the South the same privilege.* Let the doctrine be accepted everywhere that the people of each State are capable of self-government without any interference from others. Let the President elect and his party abandon congressional intervention on the slavery question in the Territories and District of Columbia, repeal their odious and unconstitutional personal liberty laws punishing citizens for obeying the act for the rendition of fugitive slaves, or in any way obstructing the execution of the law. Let them cease preaching crusades against people with whose concerns they have nothing to do, and for whose institutions they are not responsible. Let them with fidelity

execute the federal compact made by our fathers, to the fulfillment of which the honor and good faith of all of us are pledged. Let them cast out their hypocritical sympathy for such murderers as John Brown and his confederates, as devils were 'cast out' in the days of our Saviour. *Until these things are done, to talk of peace and brotherly feeling between the sections is madness and mockery.* History informs us that Nero, a royal but insane and blood-thirsty man, fiddled while Rome was burning; and it does seem to me that the President elect and his friends, flushed and drunken with victory, are plunging deeper into their fanatical orgies the nearer our beloved country is undone."

So much for the consistency of Logan's Unionism; now let us look at the consistency of his Republicanism, though that is pretty well shown in the above extracts. His love for the colored man is fully shown by the following extract from the famous, or rather infamous "Black Laws," of Illinois, of which he was the author.

One section of those laws was this :

"If any negro or mulatto, bond or free, shall hereafter come into this State and remain ten days with the evident intention of residing in the same, every such negro or mulatto shall be deemed guilty of high misdemeanor, and for the first offence shall be fined the sum of \$50, to be recovered before any justice of the peace in the county where said negro or mulatto may be found. Said proceedings shall be in the name of the people of the State of Illinois, and shall be tried by a jury of twelve men."

The law further provides that the fine should be increased \$50 over the last penalty inflicted, for every successive conviction, and also that the negro or mulatto, bond or free,

should be sold at public auction "to any person or persons who will pay said fine and costs, for the shortest time." Half the fines were offered to informers who should secure the conviction of such negroes.

Here in brief we have this tricky, blatant demagogue, who is at once hypocritical, ignorant and dishonest. He has all the vices of the renegade added to the densest ignorance and the most unbounded self-conceit. He is, so far, the most paltry creature that even his reckless party has ever offered for so high a place as the Vice-Presidency.

CHAPTER XVIII.

POLITICAL PARALLELS.

PLUTARCH'S BIOGRAPHIES.—MAGNIFICENT MATERIAL.—THE OPPOSING TICKETS.—THE MAGNETIC MAN.—TATTOOED WITH INIQUITIES.—ON BENDED KNEES TO MULLIGAN.—COWARDICE SUPPLEMENTED WITH MENDACITY.—THE PLAISTED CIRCULAR.—POLITICAL RELIGION.—TRADING UPON POSITION.—OF SOBER PROMISE.—A CAPABLE OFFICER.—CLEVELAND THE REFORMER.—A PRIMITIVE POLITICIAN.—THE TWO MEN COMPARED.—A GOOD NAME VERSUS WEALTH.—PURITY VERSUS CORRUPTION.—WHAT THE PRESS HAS TO SAY.—A BLUNDERING BULLY.—TAKING A BACK SEAT.—TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND MAJORITY.—A SUFFICIENT ENCOMIUM.—LOGAN AND THE ZUNIS.—THE GREAT AMERICAN NEPOTIST.—AN HONEST OPPONENT.—HOW THEY COMPARE.—HONEST REPUBLICAN TESTIMONY.

It was the habit of Plutarch, the chief of biographers, to draw parallels and pictures of great men and then point out their points of resemblance and dissimilarity. Had he fallen upon our day what magnificent material he would have found in comparing the men composing the two antagonistic tickets now before the people. The first we find headed by Blaine, "a brilliant man of magnetic presence," as his admirers say, but unsound, unsafe, unscrupulous; a demagogue of demagogues; a sensationalist of the most ultra type; a man who stands before the people to-day, self convicted as a liar, a bribe taker and a corruptionist.

We see him tattooed with every conceivable political vice; leagued with political wreckers; the associate and intimate of the star-route leaders; the man who upon bended knees begged the Mulligan letters and who, when begging had failed to accomplish his object, lied abjectly to obtain possession of them. We find him guilty of the forgery of the

Plaisted circular, prostituting the sacred name of religion for political purposes, and playing a double game of Catholic and Protestant for paltry self-serving ends.

We behold him trading upon his high position in the American Congress to serve an Arkansas railway, that he might obtain an interest in its stock. This is "the man of magnetism," "the man with a foreign policy," "the man from Maine," in fact, this is James G. Blaine, the Republican candidate for President of the United States.

"Look upon this picture, and on this."

Stephen Grover Cleveland, the Democratic candidate for the same position, is a man of soberer promise. We hear nothing of his brilliancy, of his magnetism, of his foreign policy. His worst enemy could not accuse him of forgery, cowardice, lying, or political knavery of any kind. Like the young surveyor, who led our Continental armies to victory, and filled for two terms, the Presidency of the United States, with god-like wisdom, he has always measured up to every occasion.

He is honest, honorable, non-sensational and in every sense of the word a reformer. His simplicity recalls the early days of the Republic; the days of Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe; his State papers are ideal Democratic documents. He has no affiliations with the star-routers and the other thieves of the body politic. He has never had to beg anybody to return to him his private letters; he has never forged political documents to aid his party to office; he has never traded official decisions for railway bonds and stocks.

One of these men possesses a fortune estimated by hundreds of thousands, the other possesses an invaluable honesty

that all the wealth of the earth could not purchase ; one of these men is the associate of thieves of high and low degree ; the other has gathered around him official associates as pure and noble as himself ; one of these men has prostituted official integrity for the purpose of accumulating filthy lucre ; the other has purified and reformed every office with which he has been connected, and is to-day a poor man ; one of these men has been lashed as corrupt and unworthy by the press of his own party, the other has been praised as a noble citizen and an upright officer, even by those men and papers who most dislike his party.

Is there any necessity to carry this comparison further ? Is anything more required to show the difference between the tattooed man from Maine and the reform Governor of New York ? Is there any necessity to go into Blaine's record as Secretary of State, under Garfield, and show him up as a blustering diplomatic bully, as cowardly as he was vain-glorious, and forced, by the mongrel Republic across the Rio Grande, "to take a back seat" as the homely expression goes. Is there any need of exposing his Peruvian scheme, or his absurd attempt at an interpretation of the Monroe doctrine ?

On the other hand, does the Buffalo reform Mayor, the Sheriff of Erie county, and the Assistant District Attorney need any further eulogium than that of the two hundred thousand majority he received for Governor, in the State where he was best known, and consequently most admired ? If this is not enough, is not his endorsement by every decent Republican newspaper and every conscientious Republican of any respectability a sufficient panegyric upon the purity and honesty of Grover Cleveland ?

We now come to the second portion of each ticket, and

as the Republican ticket was first nominated, we shall give it the precedence. The miserable demagogue named for the Vice-Presidency; the would-be despoiler of the poor Zuni Indians; the great American nepotist; the political renegade turned Turk, is best described as a mixture of audacity, courage, ignorance and venom. His impudence is sublime, his courage splendid, his hatred malignant and his ignorance deplorable. Utterly selfish, he knows no political ties save those that bind him to party ends and the spoils of office.

In the course of a long political career he has ever been found upon the side of demagoguery and corruption; the apostle of infamy and hatred, he gained from the most influential paper of his own party the sobriquet of "Dirty Work Logan," which was certainly sufficiently terse and descriptive. A ranting Republican, bitterly denouncing all who differ with him, if we trace back his record a few years we find him the author of the infamous "Black Laws" of Illinois, by which every negro or mulatto, bond or free, who came into the State and remained ten days should be fined fifty dollars and with an increasing penalty for each successive attempt, and if not paid the individual might be sold at auction into a limited term of slavery, which by a combination of such men as "Dirty Work Logan" might easily be made perpetual.

For the second place upon their ticket the Democrats have named Thomas Andrews Hendricks, the very antipode of John Alexander Logan. Grand as a statesman and simple and democratic as a citizen, his public career is one long unbroken record of honest and patriotic services. Had we no other evidence of the sublime love of country which characterizes this man, his conduct during the Republican

theft of the Presidency in 1876 would be sufficient to place him alongside of the grandest of American patriots.

This, however, does not stand alone, and we find him everywhere and at all times consistent, honest and patriotic. A gentleman and a scholar, the gulf that separates Mr. Hendricks from such a man as Logan, the blatant demagogue, is too vast to be measured. His path in politics has been a legitimate one; the country his first consideration, his party the second, and his own interests have never figured in the slightest degree in his partisanship.

If we compare these two men, we find the one to be a demagogue, the other a statesman; the one a political trimmer for selfish ends, the other a patriot whose every aim is untinged with self; the one is a ranter, ignorant of his mother tongue; the other a scholarly orator; the one is a robber of Indians a shade more ignorant than himself; the other is an honest gentleman; the one is an unblushing nepotist; the other an honest representative of the people; in short the one is "Dirty Work Logan," the other Thomas A. Hendricks.

These parallels could be carried out much further, on the same undeviating lines, but we fear to tire the patience of the reader and shall here bring them to a close. If anyone doubts the correctness of these comparisons and the assertions herein made, we do not ask him to take the Democratic press or speakers as authorities, but let him go to such people and papers as Schurz, Curtis, Beecher, Schultz and Barlow of New York, President Eliot, Col. Codman and Col. Higginson of Boston, and President Porter, Professor Dana and Whitney of Connecticut; such papers as "The New York Times," "Harper's Weekly," "The Independent," "The New York Herald," "The Christian

Union," "The Congregationalist," "The Christian Register," "The Baptist Weekly," in fact nearly all of the leading men and papers of the Republican party. What fairer challenge can be made?

If a corporal's guard of the disreputable camp followers of the party had deserted the Blaine and Logan standard, then might their friends console themselves with the reflection that it was rubbish well disposed of, but these are just the sort of politicians that stick like barnacles to the Republican ship. The defection is amongst the highest, noblest and most honorable members; the men of brains and influence, and no amount of affected ridicule and lightheartedness can make amends for their desertion. Their farewell to the Republican party means its departure from office.

CHAPTER XIX.

TILDEN'S DECLINATION.

REFERS TO HIS LETTER OF 1880.—RENOUNCING THE NOMINATION.—REASONS FOR RESERVE.—ABOVE PERSONAL AMBITION.—AN EFFICIENT INSTRUMENT.—BEYOND HIS STRENGTH.—ADDITIONAL REASONS FOR RETIREMENT.—APPEAL OF THE MASSES.—A POTENT INFLUENCE.—THE GRANDEST MEANS OF GOOD.—A VETERAN REFORMER.—DUTIES INVOLVED IN PUBLIC TRUSTS.—THE MONEY POWER.—HERCULEAN LABORS.—PHYSICAL HEALTH INSUFFICIENT.—THE ADVANCE OF AGE.—AN IMPULSE FOR GOOD.—EXPRESSES HIS GRATITUDE.—THE WILL OF GOD.—A CAREER FOREVER CLOSED.

Below we give the letter of Mr. Tilden declining a second time the Democratic nomination for the Presidency. It is a noble document and worthy of universal attention. It breathes a spirit of patriotic self-denial, and mingled with its denunciations of frauds and corruptions there breathes a prophetic hope that will not admit the possibility of the downfall of the noble fabric of our beloved Republic. It bears the spirit of sadness, which it must cause to every lover of his country, of fairness and of justice, when he thinks of the fraud that was perpetrated upon its writer, yet that sadness is tempered by its words of hope and promise.

“NEW YORK, June 10, 1884.—To Daniel Manning, Chairman of the Democratic State Committee of New York:

In my letter of June 18, 1880, addressed to the delegates from the State of New York to the Democratic National Convention, I said: Having now borne faithfully my full share of labor and care in the public service, and wearing the marks

of its burdens, I desire nothing so much as an honorable discharge. I wish to lay down the honors and toils of even quasi party leadership, and to seek the repose of private life. In renouncing the nomination for the Presidency, I do so with no doubt in my mind as to the vote of the State of New York, or of the United States, because I believe that it is a renunciation of re-election to the Presidency.

“To those who think my re-nomination and re-election indispensable to an effectual vindication of the right of the people to elect their rulers—violated in my person—I have accorded as long a reserve of my decision as possible, but I cannot overcome my repugnance to enter into a new engagement which involves four years of ceaseless toil. The dignity of the Presidential office is above a merely personal ambition, but it creates in me no illusion. Its value is as a great power for good to the country.

“I said four years ago in accepting the nomination: ‘Knowing as I do, therefore, from fresh experience, how great the difference is between gliding through an official routine and working out the form of systems and policies, it is impossible for me to contemplate what needs to be done in the federal administration without an anxious sense of the difficulties of the undertaking. If summoned by the suffrages of my countrymen to attempt the work, I shall endeavor, with God’s help, to be the efficient instrument of their will.’

“Such a work of renovation after many years of misrule, such a reform of systems and policies to which I would cheerfully have sacrificed all that remained to me of health and life, is now, I fear, beyond my strength.

“My purpose to withdraw from further public service, and the grounds of it, were at that time well known to you and

others; and when, at Cincinnati, though respecting my wishes yourself, you communicated to me an appeal from many valued friends, to relinquish that purpose, I reiterated my determination unconditionally.

“In the four years which have since elapsed nothing has occurred to weaken, but everything to strengthen the considerations which induced my withdrawal from public life. To all who have addressed me on the subject, my intention has been frankly communicated. Several of my most confidential friends, under the sanction of their own names, have publicly stated my determination to be irreversible. That I have occasion now to consider the question is an event for which I have no responsibility.

“The appeal made to me by the Democratic masses, with apparent unanimity, to serve them once more, is entitled to the most deferential consideration, and would inspire a disposition to do anything desired of me if it were consistent with my sense of duty. I believe there is no instrumentality in human society so potential in its influence upon mankind for good or evil as the governmental machinery for administering justice and for making and executing laws. Not all the eleemosynary institutions of private benevolence to which philanthropists may devote their lives are so fruitful in benefits as the rescue and preservation of this machinery from the perversions that make it the instrument of conspiracy, fraud and crime against the most sacred rights and interests of the people.

“For fifty years, as a private citizen, never contemplating an official career, I have devoted at least as much thought and effort to the duty of influencing aright the action of the governmental institutions of my country as to all other subjects. I have never accepted official service

except for a brief period, for a special purpose, and only when the occasion seemed to require from me that sacrifice of private preferences to the public welfare. I undertook the State administration of New York because it was supposed that in that way only could the executive power be arrayed on the side of the reforms to which, as a private citizen, I had given three years of my life.

“I accepted the nomination for the Presidency in 1876 because of the general conviction that my candidacy would best present the issue of reform, which the Democratic majority of the people desired to have worked out in the federal government, as it had been in the State of New York.

“I believe I had strength enough then to renovate the administration of the Government of the United States, and at the close of my term to hand over the great trust to a successor, faithful to the same policy. Though anxious to seek the repose of a private life, I nevertheless acted upon the idea that every power is a trust and involves a duty.

“In reply to the address of the committee communicating my nomination, I depicted the difficulties of the undertaking, and likened my feelings in engaging in it to those of a soldier entering battle, but I do not withhold my entire consecration of my powers to the public service. Twenty years of continuous maladministration, under the demoralizing influences of intestine war and of bad finance, have infected the whole governmental system of the United States with cancerous growths of false constructions and corrupt practices. Powerful classes have acquired pecuniary interests in official abuses, and the moral standards of the people have been impaired.

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“To redress these evils is a work of great difficulty and labor, and can only be accomplished by the most energetic and efficient personal action on the part of the Chief Executive of the Republic. The canvass and administration, which it is desired I should undertake, would embrace a period of nearly five years. Nor can I admit any illusion as to their burdens. Three years of experience in the endeavor to reform the municipal government of the City of New York, and two years of experience in renovating the administration of the State of New York, have made me familiar with the requirements of such a work.

“At the present time the considerations which induced my action in 1880 have become imperative. I ought not to assume a task which I have not the physical strength to carry through. To reform the administration of the federal government, to realize my own ideal and to fulfill the just expectations of the people, would indeed warrant, as they could alone compensate, the sacrifices which the undertaking would involve. But in my condition of advancing years and declining strength, I feel no assurance of my ability to accomplish those objects.

“I am, therefore, constrained to say, definitely, that I cannot now assume the labors of an administration or of a canvass, undervaluing in no wise that best gift of heaven—the occasion and the power sometimes bestowed upon a mere individual to communicate an impulse for good.

“Grateful beyond all words to express to my fellow-countrymen, who would assign such a beneficent function to me, I am consoled by the reflection that neither the Democratic party nor the Republic, for whose future that party is the best guarantee, is now, or ever can be, dependent

upon any one man for their successful progress in the path of a noble destiny. Having given to their welfare whatever of health and strength I possessed, or could borrow from the future, and having reached the term of my capacity for such labors as their welfare now demands, I but submit to the will of God in deeming my public career forever closed.

SAMUEL J. TILDEN.”

CHAPTER XX.

THE CLEVELAND LETTER.

KELLY'S UNDERSTRAPPER.—AN ANNOYING CREATURE.—IMPUDENTLY DEPRAVED.—ON THE MAKE.—HINDERING REFORM.—TEXT OF THE LETTER.—PURE LEGISLATION AND THE PEOPLES'S INTERESTS CONCERNED.—KELLY'S BASE ACTION.—A LIAR AND A HYPOCRITE.—AN ACTION NOT REGRETTED.—DESIRE TO BENEFIT THE STATE.—PUBLIC DETESTATION OF GRADY.—CLEVELAND'S RIGHTEOUS INDIGNATION.—A PARTY TRAITOR.—AN UNFORTUNATE SYSTEM.—KELLY A COARSE AND GRATUITOUSLY MALICIOUS CREATURE.—THE TOPIC FINALLY DISPOSED OF.

The Cleveland letter to Kelly, in regard to Grady, about which so much has been printed and said is herewith given, together with the causes which led to its being written and also an interview with the Governor in regard to it.

Thomas F. Grady, Boss Kelly's Tammany understrapper, whom Kelly put up to insult Gov. Cleveland in the Chicago Convention, was a State Senator at Albany in 1882 and 1883. No member of the Legislature in either year was more impudently depraved. None was more notoriously "on the make." None so flagrantly opposed the Democratic majority and the Democratic Executive in every effort they made for pure legislation and administration. He was continually in conspiracy with the Republicans against his own party, and in his own party he had no associates except the worst.

In the autumn of 1883 he was seeking a re-election, when Gov. Cleveland wrote the following private, personal letter upon the subject to Boss Kelly:

“EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, ALBANY, Oct. 20, '83.

“HON. JOHN KELLY: *My Dear Sir*—It is not without

hesitation that I write this. I have determined to do so, however, because I see no reason why I should not be entirely frank with you. I am anxious that Mr. Grady should not be returned to the next Senate. I do not wish to conceal the fact that my personal comfort and satisfaction are involved in this matter. But I know that good legislation, based upon a pure desire to promote the interests of the people and the improvement of legislative methods, are also deeply involved. I forbear to write in detail of the other considerations having relation to the welfare of the party and the approval to be secured by a change for the better in the character of its representatives. These things will occur to you without suggestion from me.

Yours very truly,

GROVER CLEVELAND."

This letter Kelly caused to be published, together with a vile personal attack upon Gov. Cleveland for writing it, and when charged with being the author of the publication and the mouthpiece of the attack, he lied about his share in it.

When Governor Cleveland was asked if he still believed that, under the existing circumstances, the letter should have been written, he said:

"I hold it was the proper thing, under the circumstances, to send that letter."

"You think Grady was not a proper representative to send back to the Senate?"

"I do most assuredly. His action in the Senate has been against the interests of the people and of good government, and his ready tongue gave him power to be of great aid to bad men. I believe that the Democratic party could not afford to indorse such a course, and that his rejection would

be a great benefit to the party and to the people. What's the use of striving for the Senate, country Democrats argued, and have Grady holding the balance of power to sell out to the Republicans?"

"But about the letter, Governor?"

The big armchair rolled closer still. "I sat down without the knowledge of any person and wrote to Kelly—this man who had been assuring me of his anxiety to give me aid in my work." [The Governor here raised his hand and forcibly slapped the desk in front of him.] "I suggested, not for my personal comfort, which I did not deny would be subserved, but for the good of the public service, that he who had the power to say 'Go' or 'Come' should not force the nomination of Grady upon the Democrats of the State. No man ever acted with a more positive desire to serve the State than I did when I wrote that letter to a man claiming to be my friend. I suggested that he who had the power (everybody knowing that the people of the district had nothing to do with the nomination and that but for Kelley's orders Grady could not be nominated) should favor some better man for the Senate."

"Did Mr. Kelly ever answer your letter?"

"No. If he had been what I took him to be, and he believed in Grady's nomination, he would have written frankly, in reply. He put the letter in his pocket and, I understand, called in his district leaders in Grady's district and stated his purpose to nominate him. The responses understood to be from these leaders were that Grady could not be elected in his home district. Then Mr. Kelly went to the fifth district, where Col. M. C. Murphy had been nominated in pursuance of an understanding between all the organizations in the district. In violation of this under-

standing he sought to renominate Grady there. Then and not till then did Mr. Grady announce his retirement—a retirement which was forced by the fact that he knew he could not be elected. All this time my letter had been in Kelly's pocket."

The strong arm here again fell on the executive desk. "What then?" continued the Governor. "Mr. Kelly—whom many who opposed him in politics believed to be a gentleman—takes this private, personal letter, written, as he knew, for his own eye only, to the "New York World"—and requests its publication, together with a story that that letter prevented union nominations in New York and would make the Senate Republican. At the same time Mr. Kelly's newspaper was openly attacking and seeking the defeat of four Democratic Senators outside of New York—Henry C. Nelson, James Mackin, John C. Jacobs and John J. Kiernan, and one or more Democratic Assemblymen."

"Then you strongly adhere to the conviction that this letter should have been written?"

Governor Cleveland, with determined emphasis of tone and manner, said:

"Most undoubtedly. The letter was, as every reader of it will acknowledge, written in the interest of the people to better the representation in the Senate of this State. Its reception proved to me that the man who had been assuring me of his friendship was my enemy and that of the cause which I had espoused. It gave an opportunity for this enemy to openly and coarsely insult me as Governor of the State. To say that this letter should not have been written from one gentleman to another—the one anxious to better the public service, and the other having it in his power to do so—is nonsense. To say that a man should go 300 miles

to say what he should not put on paper is the rankest kind of hypocrisy. This criticism can only be based upon the assumption that a man might say in conversing with another what he might afterwards in policy find it convenient to deny when there was no positive corroborative evidence to be brought forward as to the fact. It is unfortunate for the Democratic party that this 'boss' system exists. While it does exist, it became a necessity—a disagreeable necessity, I assure you—for me to recognize it, and consequently to address that letter to Kelly. However, the time is fast approaching when this odious system will be swept away and the voice of the people alone recognized as potent in determining nominations to public office."

"You have been attacked by several newspapers on the ground of inconsistency in writing this letter?"

The Governor laughed and the ponderous chair quivered.

"Yes; and it is almost amusing to note that some papers, in their efforts to convict me of 'inconsistency' as well as 'interference,' quote from my letter of acceptance, condemning the interference of the federal or State government with intent to thwart the will of the people. I stick to that sentiment yet. The trouble is (and here is the lamentable fact in the case) that it has an application to the state of affairs which the latter contemplates. The will of the people had, I suppose, nothing to do with the nomination of Mr. Grady. It began and ended with the will of Mr. Kelly, and his election after nomination depended upon the same power, bounded only by the trades and dickers that could be made with the so-called leaders and the freedom of the field from other candidates. This is not a condition consistent with true Democracy, and it is not a condition most favorable to good government, but I had

nothing to do with creating it. I merely conceded it as I found it, and wrote to the man who had the whole matter in his keeping, suggesting that he, for the good of the people and in the interests of the party, should exercise his power for good. If this be treason I can't see how I can escape its consequences. I have supposed that Mr. Grady was put in his old field because Mr. Campbell insisted on running in opposition to him. Campbell's majority indicates that the people were quite willing to vote for somebody besides Grady."

The forcible, determined face relaxed as the Governor rolled his chair back in front of the desk.

"That is all I have to say or will say," he concluded, "to anybody on this topic. I have done with it."

CHAPTER XXI.

GOVERNOR CLEVELAND NOTIFIED OF HIS NOMINATION.

DEMOCRATIC SIMPLICITY.—MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE.—APPEARANCE OF GOVERNOR CLEVELAND.—ADDRESS OF COLONEL VILAS.—ROUNDS OF APPLAUSE.—THE WRITTEN ADDRESS.—REPLY OF GOVERNOR CLEVELAND.—A NOBLE SPEECH.—SIMPLE BUT MANLY.—UNAFFECTED AND HONEST.—WHAT THE DEMOCRACY WILL DO.—A PLATFORM IN ITSELF.—A COLLATION SERVED.—THE RECEPTION AT THE FORT ORANGE CLUB.

The following proceedings which should have appeared before, occurred at Albany on the 29th day of July. We give the addresses in full, as well as the reply of Gov. Cleveland. The latter, though extemporaneous, is full of sound practical sense and bears the dignity, earnestness and modesty of the speaker in every line. Whatever may be said of Governor Cleveland by his political enemies, his State papers are the ideal documents of the day.

The 29th of July was a great day for the Democracy of the State and nation. At Albany there were gathered the most prominent members of the party from every State and Territory, and they came to take part in or witness the formal announcement to Gov. Cleveland that he had been nominated by the National Democratic Convention for President of the United States. The members of the National Committee and the Committee on Notification acted together, and the result was that the tendering of the nomination came off with much eclat.

It was done with true Democratic simplicity. There were no red tape or buncombe business about it. The mid-

night and early morning trains brought the late comers and a call of the roll of the two committees showed that only a few of the members were absent. Both committees had brief morning sessions and everything was got in readiness for the visit to the Executive Mansion in the afternoon.

A drizzling rain was falling at 3 o'clock when the Albany phalanx, headed by a fine band, stopped in front of the Delavan House. The phalanx turned out 200 strong to escort the National and Notification Committees and the orators of the evening mass-meetings to the presence of the Governor. The committees and speakers were furnished with barouches. When the procession, headed by the phalanx, started for the Executive Mansion, the tremendous crowds on the sidewalks cheered lustily.

It was 4 o'clock when the procession entered the grounds of the Executive Mansion, and the two parlors and hallway were soon overcrowded. The rooms were not specially decorated for the occasion. A big bank of flowers was placed in the west parlor, while the mantel-piece in the east parlor was covered with rare exotics.

A glance around the room showed the presence of Democrats prominent in the councils of the nation and of the party in the States. Among them were ex-Speaker Randall; Gov. Waller, of Connecticut; ex-Governor Garcelon, of Maine; Judge Abbot and Frederick O. Prince, of Massachusetts; Senator Jonas, of Louisiana; ex-Senator Stockton, of New Jersey, Gen. Hooker, of Mississippi; Senator Gorman, of Maryland; Austin H. Brown, of Indiana; Col. Prather, of Missouri; Miles Ross, of New Jersey; Senator Ransom, of North Carolina; B. B. Smalley, of Vermont; John S. Barbour, of Virginia; Patrick Walsh,

of the "Chronicle," Augusta, Ga., and member of the National Committee; Col. Bardwell, formerly of Gen. Hancock's staff; D. R. Francis, of St. Louis; P. H. Kelly of Minnesota; Henry C. Semple and Col. Woods, of Alabama; A. W. Sulloway, of New Hampshire; A. Noltner, of Oregon; S. R. Cockrill, of Arkansas; W. W. Armstrong, of Ohio; Lewis Baker, of West Virginia; Henry D. McHenry, of Kentucky; Don M. Dickinson, of Michigan; Milton P. Reese, of Georgia; Dr. George Wells, of Maryland; Col. Robert Beverly, of Maryland; C. C. Burns, of Kansas, and Col. E. D. Bannister, of Indiana.

New York State was well represented by Daniel Manning, Percy Belmont, Hubert O. Thompson, Charles W. McCune, E. K. Apgar, John E. Develin, Lester B. Faulkner, Senator Jacobs, Edward Murphy, of Troy; Mayor Banks, of Albany; ex-Senator Abram Lansing, Senator Thatcher, Gilbert C. Walker, Judge Peckham, Senator Murphy, W. S. Bissell, law partner of the Governor; Erastus Corning, Amasa J. Parker, S. W. Rosendale, Samuel Hand, Congressman Van Alstyne, William C. Whitney and Col. William Brown.

The ladies present were Mrs. W. E. Hoyt, the Governor's sister; the Misses Mamie and Carrie Hastings, nieces of the Governor, their mother being a missionary in Ceylon; Mrs. and Miss Folsom, wife and daughter of the Governor's former law partner, and Mrs. Daniel Lamont, wife of the Governor's private Secretary.

When all was in readiness for the appearance of the Governor, Col. Lamont went upstairs. Gov. Cleveland a few minutes afterward ushered himself into the room. He was greeted with a round of applause. A passageway having been made through the crowd, he walked composedly

to the mantel-piece, turned around and faced the throng. There was a short pause, during which the Governor underwent an inspection from those present who had never seen him before. He did not display the least nervousness. He shoved his right hand between the buttons of his dark diagonal Prince Albert and stood erect as a statue. A black tie encircled a high standing collar.

Col. F. W. Vilas, of Wisconsin, who was permanent Chairman of the Chicago Convention and of the Committee on Notification, stepped slightly forward, and addressing the Governor in a clear, resonant tone, and with marked enthusiasm, said:

“GROVER CLEVELAND, GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK: These gentlemen, my associates here present, whose voice I am honored with authority to utter, are a committee appointed by the National Democratic Convention which recently assembled in Chicago, and charged with the grateful duty of acquainting you, officially and in that solemn and ceremonious manner which the dignity and importance of the communication demand, with the interesting result of its deliberations, already known to you through the ordinary channels of news.

“Sir: That august body, convened by direct delegation from the Democratic people of the several States and Territories of the Republic and deliberating under the witness of the greatest assembly of freemen ever gathered to such a conference, in forethought of the election which the Constitution imposes upon them to make during the current year, have nominated you to the people of these United States to be their President for the next ensuing term of that great office, and with grave consideration of its exalted

responsibilities, have confidently invoked their suffrages to invest you with its functions. Through this committee the Convention's high requirement is delivered that you accept that candidacy. This choice carries with it profound personal respect and admiration, but it has been in no manner the fruit of these sentiments. The National Democracy seek a President not in compliment for what the man is, or reward for what he has done, but in a just expectation of what he will accomplish as the true servant of a free people fit for their lofty trust.

“Always of momentous consequence, they conceive the public exigency to be now of transcendent importance, that a laborious reform in administration as well as legislation is imperatively necessary to the prosperity and honor of the Republic and a competent Chief Magistrate must be of unusual temper and power. They have observed with attention your execution of the public trusts you have held, especially of that with which you are now so honorably invested. They place their reliance for the usefulness of the services they expect to exact for the benefit of the nation upon the evidence derived from the services you have performed for the State of New York. They invite the electors to such proofs of character and competence to justify their confidence that in the nation, as heretofore in the State, the public business will be administered with commensurate intelligence and ability, with single-hearted honesty and fidelity, and with a resolute and daring fearlessness which no faction, no combination, no power of wealth, no mistaken clamor can dismay or qualify.

“In the spirit of the wisdom and invoking the benediction of the Divine Teacher of men, we challenge from the sovereignty of this nation, His words in commendation and

ratification of our choice, 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant, thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things.' In further fulfilment of our duty the secretary will now present the written communication signed by the Committee."

Colonel Vilas was several times interrupted by applause. At the close of his remarks Mr. Nicholas M. Bell, of Missouri, Secretary of the Committee, read the following formal address prepared by the Committee:

NEW YORK CITY, July 28, 1884.

To the Hon. Grover Cleveland, of New York.

SIR:—In accordance with a custom befitting the nature of the communication, the undersigned, representing the several States and Territories of the Union, were appointed a committee by the National Democratic Convention, which assembled at Chicago on the 8th day of the current month, to perform the pleasing office, which by this means we have the honor to execute, of informing you of your nomination as the candidate of the Democratic party in the ensuing election for the office of President of the United States. A declaration of the principles upon which the Democracy go before the people with a hope of establishing and maintaining them in the government was made by the Convention, and an engrossed copy thereof is submitted in connection with this communication, for your consideration. We trust the approval of your judgment will follow an examination of this expression of opinion and policy, and upon the political controversy now made up we invite your acceptance of the exalted leadership to which you have been chosen.

The election of a President is an event of the utmost im-

portance to the people of America. Prosperity, growth, happiness, peace and liberty even, may depend upon its wise ordering. Your unanimous nomination is proof that the Democracy believe your election will most contribute to secure these great objects. We assure you that in the anxious responsibilities you must assume as a candidate, you will have the steadfast, cordial support of the friends of the cause you will represent. And in the execution of the duties of the high office which we confidently expect from the wisdom of the nation to be conferred upon you, you may securely rely for approving aid upon the patriotism, honor and intelligence of this free people. We have the honor to be, with great respect,

W. F. VILAS, President.

Nicholas M. Bell, Secretary.

D. P. Bester, Ala.
 Fred W. Fordyce, Ark.
 Niles Searles, Cal.
 M. M. S, Waller, Col.
 Theo. M. Waller, Conn.
 Geo. H. Bates, Del.
 Attila Cox, Ky.
 James Jeffries, La.
 C. H. Osgood, Me.
 Geo. Wells, Md.
 J. E. Abott, Mass.
 Daniel J. Campau, Mich.
 Thos. E. Heenan, Minn.
 Chas. E. Hooker, Miss.
 David R. Francis, Mo.
 Patrick Fahy, Neb.
 Wilson G. Lamb, N. C.
 Wm. A. Quarles, Tenn.
 Geo. L. Spear, Vt.
 Frank Hereford, W. Va.
 J. T. Hauser, Mon.
 M. S. McCormick, Dak.
 E. D. Wright, Dist. of Col.

D. E. McCarthy, Nev.
 J. F. Cloutman, N. H.
 John. P. Stockman, N. Y.
 John C. Jacobs, N. Y.
 G. H. Oury, Ari.
 Ransford Smith, Utah.
 John M. Selcott Idaho.
 W. D. Chipley, Fla.
 M. P. Reese, Ga.
 A. E. Stevenson. Ill.
 E. D. Bannister, Ind.
 L. G. Kinne, Ia.
 C. C. Burnes, Kan.
 Theo. E. Haynes, Ohio.
 S. L. McArthur, Ore.
 James P. Barr, Pa.
 David S. Baker, jr., R. I.
 Joseph H. Earl, S. C.
 Joseph E. Dwyer. Texas.
 Robert Beverly, Va.
 W. A. Anderson, Wis.
 W. B. Childers, N. M.
 D. B. Dutro, W. T.

Gov. Cleveland, who had stood meanwhile as an intent listener, replied as follows:

“Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee:

“Your formal announcement does not of course convey to me the first information of the result of the Convention lately held by the Democracy of the nation, and yet when as I listen to your message, I see about me representatives from all parts of the land of the great party which, claiming to be the party of the people, asks them to intrust to it the administration of their government; and when I consider under the influence of the stern reality which the present surroundings create, that I have been chosen to represent the plans, purposes and policy of the Democratic party, I am profoundly impressed by the solemnity of the occasion and by the responsibility of my position. Though I gratefully appreciate it I do not, at this moment, congratulate myself upon the distinguished honor which has been conferred upon me, because my mind is full of anxious desire to perform well the part which has been assigned to me.

“Nor do I at this moment forget that the rights and interests of more than fifty millions of my fellow-citizens are involved in our efforts to gain Democratic supremacy. This reflection presents to my mind the consideration which, more than all others, gives to the action of my party in convention assembled its most sober and serious aspect. The party and its representatives, which ask to be intrusted at the hands of the people with the keeping of all that concerns their welfare and their safety, should only ask it with the full appreciation of the sacredness of the trust and with a firm resolve to administer it faithfully and well.

“I am a Democrat because I believe that this truth lies at the foundation of true Democracy. I have kept the faith

because I believe, if rightly and fairly administered and applied, Democratic doctrines and measures will insure the happiness, contentment and prosperity of the people. If, in the contest upon which we now enter, we steadfastly hold to the underlying principles of our party creed, and at all times keep in view the people's good, we shall be strong, because we are true to ourselves and because the plain and independent voters of the land will seek by their suffrages to compass their release from party tyranny where there should be submission to the popular will, and their protection from party corruption, where there should be devotion to the people's interest.

"These thoughts lend a consecration to our cause, and we go forth, not merely to gain a partisan advantage, but pledged to give to those who trust us the utmost benefits of a pure and honest administration of national affairs. No higher purpose or motive can stimulate us to supreme effort or urge us to continuous and earnest labor for an effective party organization. Let us not fail in this, and we may confidently hope to reap the full reward of patriotic services well performed.

"I have thus called to mind some simple truths, and trite though they are, it seems to me we do well to dwell upon them at this time. I shall soon, I hope, signify in the usual formal manner my acceptance of the nomination which has been tendered to me. In the meantime, I gladly greet you all as co-workers in a noble cause."

The Governor spoke extemporaneously and not without evidence of deep earnestness and feeling. He seemed to realize the weight of responsibility which rested upon his shoulders as the standard-bearer of the party. The address was not only a model one in thought, but was de-

livered with rare grace and effect. The congratulations that were showered upon him by the many distinguished leaders of the party, at the close of the ceremonies, were sincere and hearty.

“It is a platform in itself,” shouted one of the Southern representatives.

After the proceedings were over, the Governor invited those present into the large dining-room, where a collation was served. He stood near the head of the table, and for an hour or more was engaged in conversing with those who came up, one by one, and were introduced to him. An informal reception was held at the Fort Orange Club on Washington avenue late in the afternoon.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE CONVENTION MEETS.

THE GATHERING COHORTS.—MARSHALLED FOR BATTLE.—CALLED TO ORDER.—PRAYER BY THE REV. DR. MARQUIS.—MR. BARNUM'S REMARKS.—HARMONY AND VICTORY.—THE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—PRESENTED TO THE CONVENTION.—EX-GOVERNOR HUBBARD'S ADDRESS.—AN OLD TEXAN.—A TRIBUTE TO DEMOCRACY.—UNDYING PRINCIPLES.—A DEATHLESS PARTY.—THE INFAMOUS ELECTORAL COMMISSION.—STORMS OF APPLAUSE.—THE NEED OF REFORM.—THE BLOODY SHIRT.—FIELDS OF COMMON GLORY.

The gathering clans of the Democracy had been pouring into the Lake City for a week and on the 8th of July the cohorts of all the States were present. From the stormy surges of the Atlantic to the placid waters of the Pacific; from the vast inland and unsalted seas of our northern border to the Mexican Gulf they had journeyed and now in solid phalanx stood marshalled in battle array to do yoe-man service against the spoilers of the people.

The Convention was called to order at 12:37 P. M. by the Hon. Wm. H. Barnum, of Connecticut, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. He said: "The chair has the honor to present the Rev. Dr. Marquis of Chicago, who will open the deliberations of this Convention with prayer."

The Rev. Dr. Marquis then addressed the throne of grace. He prayed for a blessing on this great assembly of representative citizens; that they should be endowed plentifully with the wisdom which is first pure, then peaceable and gentle and easy to be entreated; that nothing should

be done through strife or vain jealousy, but that they should be filled with that charity which is not puffed and does not behave itself unseemly. He prayed that their deliberations would be guided to such conclusions as would best promote the glory of God and the welfare of the nation.

The prayer concluded, Mr. Barnum arose and addressed the Convention as follows:

“GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION—Harmony seems to be the sentiment of this Convention. Even the air seems saturated with a desire and determination to nominate a ticket for President and Vice-President which will be satisfactory to the North and to the South, to the East and to the West—nay more, a ticket that will harmonize the Democracy throughout the Union and insure victory in November. Harmony prevailed in the deliberations of the National Committee. No effort was made to nominate a Temporary Chairman in the interest of any candidate, but on the contrary one who shall preside over the deliberations of this Convention with absolute impartiality. In that spirit and to that end I have been directed by the unanimous vote of the National Committee to name the Hon. Richard B. Hubbard of Texas for Temporary Chairman of this Convention.

“As many as favor the election of Hon. R. B. Hubbard for Temporary Chairman will say aye; contrary, no. Upon the vote that followed the Hon. Richard B. Hubbard was elected Temporary Chairman of the Convention. The Chair announced the vote to that effect, saying: “The Chair appoints Senator B. F. Jonas of Indiana, Hon. George Barnes of Georgia and Abram S. Hewitt of New York a committee to wait upon Mr. Hubbard and conduct him to the Chair.” [Applause.]

Mr. Hubbard on being conducted to the Chair was received with vociferous applause, and the Chairman advancing to the front, said: "I have the distinguished honor to present the Hon. Richard B. Hubbard of Texas as the absolutely impartial Temporary Chairman of this Convention." [Cheers.]

Mr. Hubbard came forward, amid loud applause, and said:

"MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION OF THE UNION—I am profoundly grateful for the confidence which you have reposed in me in ratifying the nomination of the National Executive Committee, who have done your bidding for the last four years by your authority. I accept it, my fellow-Democrats, not as a tribute to the humble citizen and your fellow-Democrat who speaks to you to-day, but rather as a compliment to the great State from whence I come [applause], a State which, more than any other American State, is absolutely cosmopolitan in every fibre of its being. [Applause.] In early days and struggles thither came to our relief as winds sweep across the sea, men of Illinois and New York, men of Maine and New England, and along the coast, and gave their lives at the Alamo and San Jacinto for the freedom of Texas. [Applause.] I can only recall to you, in the brief moments which I shall delay you, the fact that our neighboring States, her women, her glorious, Spartan women, sent to us the seven cannons that belched into glorious victory at San Jacinto; but above all we accept it as a tribute to the fact, my fellow Democrats, that Texas with her over two millions of people gladly at each returning election places in the ballot-box over one hundred thousand Demo-

eratic majority. [Applause.] Fellow-Democrats, we have met upon an occasion of great and absorbing interest to our party, as well as to our common country. The occasion would not justify me nor demand that I should attempt to speak to you of its great history and its distinctive principles through two-thirds of the most glorious history of our country. I could not stop to discuss, if I would, its magnificent progress, the part which she has taken in building up our country, its progress, its history and its wealth. I can only say to you to-day, in brief, that the Democratic party in all essential elements is the same as it was when founded by the framers of the Constitution nearly three quarters of a century ago. [Applause.] Men die as the leaves of autumn, but principles underlying liberty and self-government, the right of representation and taxation going hand in hand; economy in the administration of the government that lays the burdens as least they may be laid upon the millions who constitute our countrymen—these and other principles underlying the Democratic party cannot be effaced from the earth, though their authors may be numbered among the dead. [Cheers.] I thank God, fellow-citizens, that though we have been out of power for a quarter of a century, we are to-day in all that makes adherence and zeal as much a party organized for aggressive war as when the banners of victory were flaunting over our heads.

“The Democratic party, fellow-citizens, since the war time, commencing with reconstruction, with our hands manacled, with our ballot-boxes surrounded by the gleaming bayonet, with carpet bag rule, with the voice stifled—the voice of freemen who pay their taxes to the government—the Democratic party has lived to see, through all this misrule, the day



EX-GOVERNOR R. B. HUBBARD, OF TEXAS.

Temporary Chairman of the Democratic National Convention.

come when in a great majority of our States the Democratic party has resumed its control and its power. It has your House of Representatives, and but for treason stalking in the Senate Chamber, we would have that too. [Loud applause.] We have had the Presidency, too; [renewed applause]; but with impious hands, the hands of the robbers, our rights were stricken down at the ballot; through perjury and bribery and corruption, uttering falsehood through pale lips and chattering teeth, in the very temples of liberty, they stole the Presidency of this country. [Applause.] Some of the men who participated in it have passed beyond that river, and stand to give an account of their stewardship; but history will not lie when it records, as it has, that that electoral commission announced in the Senate Chamber and through the House that it would consider the question and the evidence of fraud, in returning the vote of Louisiana. When the law was passed, I remember it as the blackest page of our country's history [applause] and all good Republicans to-day are ashamed of it. [Loud applause.] They turned their faces as well as their consciences upon the promise of the past and refused to consider the evidence, all reeking with ignominy and bribery and shame, and counted in a man who had not received, under the constitution and the laws, the suffrages of his countrymen. That is a wrong that we have here to right. [Applause.] Eight years have passed; that is true. We are told that the law has given the verdict to them; that is true. When a jury is in its box, under the statute of your State, and a judge upon the bench, who holds the scales of justice unevenly, holds with guilty hands a parchment from the Executive of your State and allows the jury sitting in the box to condemn a man to death under the ægis of law,

he does what all the law-writers of civilization for hundreds of years have cursed and damned as legal murder. [Applause.] Oh, the great sin of that electoral commission remains to-day unpunished and will ever be unavenged so long as the Republican party is in power in this country. [Applause.] I thank God that there is no statute of limitations running in favor of that party [applause], and in that connection, my fellow-Democrats, be it said to the credit of the Democratic party, that they exhibit none of that spirit which sought to engulf this country, fresh as it was upon the heels of a great and fratricidal war. But our great leaders—Tilden and Hendricks—[here the speaker was interrupted by long-continued applause, the delegates rising to their feet and waving their hats.] Our great leaders, Tilden and Hendricks, with the dignity of heroic statesmen, with the courage of men who love their country better than themselves and power, accepted the wrong and injury of perjury and of fraud, and they are grander to-day in their defeat than the men who wear their power at the expense of justice and right [cheers]. Thus we have succeeded in the face of federal power. We could have succeeded in 1880 but for federal gold and federal greenbacks, fresh and uncut from Washington [applause and laughter]; money earned and held by star-route contractors and the loving friends of a venal administration. They bought the Presidency.

“Fellow-Democrats, we want reform, God knows, not only in the personal; in the men as well as the measures of the government as it is. [Cheers.] We want men there whose very lives and whose very names will be a platform to this people. We want men there who shall in all the departments of the government; in its department of

justice, in its postal affairs, its interior department—everywhere shall follow its servants with the eye of the ministers of justice, and see that every cent that belongs to the government shall remain with the government. [Cheers.] No tribute shall be demanded, except the tribute due the government; that no assessments on 100,000 office-holders paid \$100,000,000 annually, \$5,000,000 to go into a corrupt political fund. These abuses, we thank God, will be corrected when the Democratic party shall get into power once more. [Applause.]

“We read of the enunciation of principles by the Republican party. They tell us they have civil-service reform, and yet they demand in the next breath from every federal office-holder of the 100,000 the tribute to the corruption fund that shall be paid out to the voters at the polls. They tell us they have a Puritan government, and yet not a solitary felon has been condemned in the flock of those who have stolen their millions from the Treasury. Your Springer committee only on yesterday and day before tells us of the perjury, of the corruption, of the subornation, that run all along through the ministers of justice in the prosecution of the government. We want real reform; a reform, my countrymen, that shall mean what it says, and that will say what it means [cheers], moreover.

“I shall briefly close, fellow-citizens. It is not my business as your presiding officer to-day to enunciate anything that shall be embodied in your platform. But I wish to say one thing, in this State assemblage of freemen, to your committee on reform—that you will endeavor to unite upon the basis of principles which we have advocated for the years that are gone, and that you will have no Delphic oracle, speaking with double tongue in the platform which shall

be named by you. [Loud applause.] Let the Green Mountain men, the men of New York and the men of Maine, of Texas, of Louisiana and Georgia, from the Carolinas to the Golden coast, demand that the committee on platform shall say in our noble vernacular of purest English tongue what they mean, so that the wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err in reading it. In doing this you will declare against the corruptions of the government—that is we will declare against the enormities of its system of civil service, its department of so-called justice, its postal service, the robbery in high places by the men in power. It will say, moreover, that the burdens of the government shall be placed alike equally and equitably upon all classes of our countrymen, having respect for the greatest good to the greatest number [applause]; that the hundred millions of surplus revenue shall not be allowed to accumulate as a corrupt bait [applause], and that there shall be radical reformation and reduction in the taxes as well as the methods of taxation in our country [applause.] But, fellow-citizens, in conclusion let me say that harmony and conciliation should rule your councils. There never was a time in the history of the Democratic party when the enemy invites the victory as now. The great and unnumbered hosts of dissatisfied men of the Republican party are heard in the distance, in New England, in New York, on the lakes, and in the West, and everywhere, and while the Democratic party should not deviate one iota from the principles of its party, it should with open arms say to these men—hundreds of thousands God grant there may be—‘Here, here is the party of the Constitution, the Union, that loves our common country; come hither and go with us for honest rule and honest government.’

“The Democratic party, while it may have its local differences, when the onset of the charge comes will be together, and whoever you may nominate, of all the great and good names that are before you from the East to the West and from the North to the South, he who stands back in the hour of peril—because forsooth his own State or himself shall not have received the choice, yea, the choice of his heart, is less than a good Democrat and hardly a patriot. In the country’s hour of peril the Democratic party is loyal to the Union. The bloody shirt in the vulgar parlance of the times has at each recurring election been flaunted in the face of Southern Democrats and in your own faces. With Logan on the ticket I presume it will be again. Blaine could hardly afford it [laughter] he has indulged too much in that unpleasantness [laughter and applause.] They will endeavor to stir up the bad blood of the past. My countrymen, the war is over for a quarter of a century and they know it; why our boys have married the young maidens of the northland and children have been born to them since those days. [Applause and laughter.] They will continue to go to the altar and side by side at dying beds they will talk of that bourne whence no traveler returns; will lie down and be buried together. Why, the boys in the blue and the gray have slept together for a quarter of a century upon a thousand fields of common glory; let their bones alone. They are representing the best blood of the land, and though differing in the days that should be forgotten, the good men of all parties in our country to-day, thank God, have united in the great common progress of our race to forget the war and memories of the war time.

“I thank you, fellow-citizens, for your attention. Trusting that your forbearance will be extended to me—what

mistakes I shall make, doubtless, you will treat lightly and kindly with a corrective hand; hoping that success may crown your efforts; that you may send a ticket to our country upon which all may unite, is the wish of him whom you have honored with your suffrages this day. [Loud and long continued applause.]

The temporary organization was now completed and the Convention was called to order by ex-Governor Hubbard. The further proceedings of the body, (with the exception of the address of Col. W. F. Vilas, the permanent Chairman of the Convention, which appears in the next chapter,) as well as the platform adopted and nominating speeches, will be found in the supplement to this volume.

CHAPTER XXIII.

COL. W. F. VILAS ELECTED CHAIRMAN.

THE PRELIMINARY ORGANIZATION.—ELECTION OF W. F. VILAS.—INTRODUCED BY EX-GOVERNOR HUBBARD.—GREETED WITH APPLAUSE.—THE NORTHWESTERN DEMOCRACY.—A GREAT OBJECT IN VIEW.—EARTH'S GRANDEST GOVERNMENT.—ITS REPUBLICAN OPPRESSERS.—THEIR FALSE PROMISES.—"SOAP," THEIR CAMPAIGN CRY.—THEIR VISIONARY SCHEMES.—THEIR EVIL USE OF MONEY.—DEFRAUDING THE PEOPLE.—A CHANGE DEMANDED.—THE DEMOCRACY THE COUNTRY'S SAVIOR.—THE SODOM OF REPUBLICANISM.—A DEMOCRATIC EULOGY.

After the preliminary organization had been effected and the necessary details of business had been properly dispatched, the election of a permanent Chairman and other necessary officers occurred. For permanent President of the Convention Colonel W. F. Vilas, of Wisconsin, was chosen and was introduced to the members, by the temporary Chairman, in the following words :

"As temporary Chairman, gentlemen of the Convention, I have the honor to introduce to you the Hon. Mr. Vilas, of Wisconsin [loud applause], as the elected—unanimously elected—permanent President of your body. [Loud applause.] Thanking you most kindly for the courtesy and the attention and the charity you have given me, I invoke it for him who will need it much less than I have needed it. [Loud and long continued applause.] I resign."

Gracefully bowing his thanks for the hearty applause which greeted him, Col. Vilas spoke as follows:

"GENTLEMEN OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRACY: I know full well that this mark of your favor is no personal com-

pliment, but a recognition of the young Democracy of the Northwestern States [loud applause], and I claim it to be justly their due [loud applause] as a tribute for their lofty zeal and patriotism, for their long and gallant struggle against an outnumbering foe and for their great and growing numbers [applause], and I hail it as a presage and prototype of their coming triumphs. [Applause.] But I am proud, though honored beyond all deserving, in being selected as their representative, and I gratefully acknowledge my obligation and render you hearty thanks for the honor you have been pleased to confer. [Applause.] No pledge is necessary for the continuance of their devotion. As it has hitherto been, so it will abide in the contest now at hand, pure, unselfish, resolute and unflinching till its great object shall be accomplished in the restoration and security of an upright and constitutional Government. [Loud applause.]

“Fellow-delegates, you are assembled to consider a great cause, to pronounce a most momentous judgment. Your hand is on the helm of a mighty nation of freemen—and it is for you by wise and far-reaching determination to lay its future course in felicity—for many years freighted with a vast humanity in the prosperous pursuit of happiness, fifty-five million of freemen who are, and one hundred million will soon be our nation. Earth’s greatest and noblest free society will rejoice in the well considered work of the convention. [Applause.] Its import and value lie not in mere partisan success in touching the spoils of office. It is a noble opportunity; the hour is pregnant with mighty possibilities of good to men. Liberty, constitutional liberty, strangling in the surf of corruption, injustice and favoritism, cries aloud for resuscitation, for purification

and reform. [Applause.] An assemblage of politicians such as long possession of unlimited power creates, but recently filled this hall with clamor, and it is said to have been too well manufactured to have been the product of infant industry. [Laughter.] They have announced their purpose and they claim the submission of the country as if it was theirs to command. How have they met the just expectation of this intelligent people? Like some corporations which have flourished under their auspices, they have issued a 'watered stock' of promises [laughter] and every one a confession. They have promised redress only of disorders they have themselves communicated to the body politic. [Laughter and applause.] They proffer the infection to cure the disease. [Laughter.] They have tendered nothing adequate or worthy to the fervent aspirations and high hopes of this patriotic and progressive people. To a country which rejoices in restored unity and concord, they tender the renewal of sectional strife. To a nation which feels the impulse of a mighty growth and yearns for leadership in noble prosperity, they offer the inspiration of national calamity and misfortune. To a proud and sensitive people demanding deliverance from dishonoring corruption, demanding decency in seating, and cleanliness in holding their public stations, they offer the gilded earth of skillful demagoguery. [Applause.] The generous order of youth, nobly ambitious to achieve a freeman's manhood, they proffer the enervating sentiments of the party machine; to the men of toil seeking only equal opportunities to earn a freeman's livelihood they cry, 'Be your master's villain and you shall have bread.' [Applause.] The burden of their campaign is already made manifest. Shouting and, in common political parlance, 'soap' [laughter] is its inspi-



COLONEL W. F. VILAS, OF WISCONSIN.

Permanent Chairman of the Democratic National Convention.

ration, its ‘ammunition.’ [Laughter and applause.] The boisterous cry of the drill sergeant, the black list for the hesitating, rewards to the willing—this is the politician’s share; while from the ranks of those who amass the fruits of others’ labor the copious streams of pecuniary profit will summon the booty of sweetened sophistries to the ear of the weak and ignorant. The air already is filled with the vapors of visionary schemes addressed to the various interests and factions of weak and undeserving men, and some are induced to expect advantage from the chaotic possibilities of a foreign war, others relief or gain for legalized irruptions on the National Treasury. The history of the Republic will have been read in vain if such a prospect does not alarm and warn us. Twice already has liberty sunk beneath the waves of fraud and venality. She has seen her chosen servants, her chosen high-priests, chosen by a majority of votes exceeding all which were cast to elect Washington, Adams, Jefferson and Madison—I think I might add Monroe—displaced by chicanery and her people temporarily enslaved by the fraudulent usurpation of their place. [Applause.] She has seen a national election perverted by the stream of money which flowed from gaping wounds at Washington. Can she rise a third time, if again submerged by her enemies? Gentlemen, no patriotic heart can contemplate contemporaneous events without the profound conviction that the duties of this hour rise far beyond partisanship.

“There is one supreme question before us: “How shall we most surely rescue the republic?” I know you will pardon me for saying it is no time for personal devotion or a personal canvass. No man has the slightest claim to our personal preferences, and we have no personal prefer-

ences; no personal objections we weigh as a feather even against our resolute choice of such a ticket as will certainly unite all the friends of constitutional liberty, purity and reform in solid array for the country [cheers], and this spirit now animates the expectant hope which is turned to this Convention from every quarter of this Union. A great change has been wrought in recent years in this country—not alone in numbers, in personal and material characteristics, but also in the minds of the people and in the composition of its political forces. We have ceased to fight a fratricidal war. The sin of slavery has been purged, the crime of secession has been punished. Both are at an end, and the chained man's sorrows are forever closed and stand in memory only as safeguards for the national justice, peace and union forever. [Cheers.] The horrors of the dreadful internecine conflict must stimulate suitable honor and reward to the noble men whose lives were offered then for their country's salvation, but the people will not go backward for animosity and springs of action to destroy the fruits of their labor and sacrifices. The hour of peace and concord, the embrace of friends after a bitter war, the restored joy of happy liberty and enduring union are their highest honor—the most noble chaplet that ever crowned a soldier's memory. Who dares a scar to bleed again, who fans a dying spark of enmity, strips the tenderest leaves from the laurel leaf of glory, [cheers], and doubly wicked is he who perils a nation's peace and happiness to serve by such ends a vain ambition. [Cheers.]

“The day for such an attempt has passed. A new generation is on the scene of action, an educated and intelligent generation. They understand our institutions, they comprehend the tremendous growth and capabilities of this

country, they accept the responsibilities which have devolved upon them. Their realizing sense is keen that the welfare and progress of this people demand, have long demanded, an utter and radical change in the administration of the government. [Applause.]

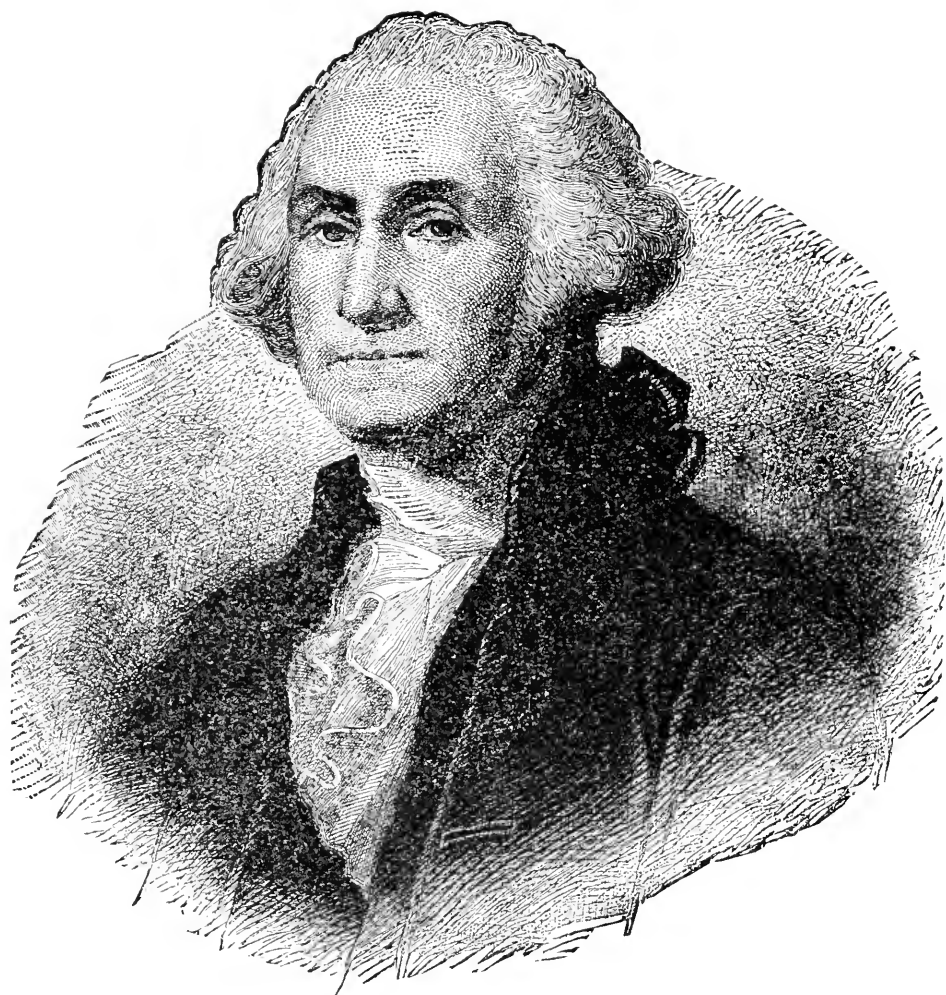
“They have heard repeated promises of reform with each recurring election, and with disgrace and shame they witnessed each new administration discover deeper iniquities than those it promised to amend. [Applause.] There is a growing conviction that the one reform which will work others is the utter defeat of the present party in power [applause], and there is but one hope. It is vain to look to any new party organization. [Applause.] The prosperity and progress and success of this Republic rests to-day upon the wisdom and patriotism of the Democracy now here in session. [Applause.] It is adequate to the great responsibilities, it is the party which brings down the traditions and represents the principles upon which this government was founded as a homestead, “equality and liberty,” [Applause.] It is the party of Thomas Jefferson [applause], of James Madison [applause], and of Andrew Jackson. [Applause.] As they taught and led, it stands to-day the party of the people, for honesty, capability and fidelity in the public service, for strict principles of political economy in their public affairs, for the encouragement of every art and industry, the development of trade and manufactures, with equal justice to all. [Applause.] It stands as they inspired it, the party of the people, for the generous diffusion of knowledge, the elevation of every man; for common rights and equal opportunities for all, the resolute enemy of monopoly, of class favoritism and corporate oppression, the friend of labor, the inspiration of youth, the nursery of free men. [Applause.]

“It has shared the vicissitudes, the frailties, the faults of humanity, it has profited by the sweets of the cup of adversity [laughter] and it stands forth to-day with a disciplined patriotism, fitted to invoke and receive the restoration of that power which for half a century it wielded to the nation’s grandeur and glory [applause], more than 5,000,000 of freemen—a greater number than cast the ballot for Lincoln, Breckinridge, Douglas and Bell all combined—who compose this patriotic party, and for nearly twenty years it has been recruited steadily from the upright and fearless, who preferring the reward of self-respect to the allurements of power, have shaken the dust from their feet and departed from the Sodom of so called Republicanism.

“It has exchanged for these the venial and time-serving of its own former possession, who sought the spoils of office where they were to be found. It has received and continually receives new accessions of those who come in the same character which we have received before, and if there be any who can not abide its high purpose and fortitude and ability to wait for the culmination of its principles, we are ready to continue the like exchange. [Applause.] It has enlisted and caught the fire of the young manhood of this nation, and the spirit of victory rules its councils and rides in the front of its battle. [Applause.] The fatality of blundering has become a Republican possession [laughter and applause], and the doom the gods award to folly, let us pray, may be theirs. The triumph of the party of the Republic’s hope cannot longer be stayed. A confident expectation may be placed in your wise deliberations. We may hope from your wisdom the first step to be taken, and to see again our nation restored to its real station among

the powers of the earth; to see its navy, public and commercial, again as of yore, break the waves of every sea and spread its flag in every sky. [Applause.] We may hope to see the squandering of public wealth cease, justice to take her place in our laws regulating finance and economy. We may hope to see a democratic people of equality and simplicity and frugality, where happiness may be found [applause]; where the subdued earth yields its abundant increase, while in every form art and industry employ their cheerful labor, and the proudest boast of American citizenship shall rise, not from the favored son of wealth, but from the manly freeman who returns with the sun from his place of honored toil to the house which is his own—[loud applause]—where the blossoming vine and rose bespeak the fragrant happiness of the loved ones at home. [Loud applause.]

“Gentlemen, in the hardest duties before me I implore your generous forbearance. I stand in greater need of your indulgent consideration by the comparison under which I must suffer with the brilliant service of the distinguished gentleman who has just quitted this chair [tremendous applause] with the well-deserved plaudits of this Convention. [Loud applause.] I pledge you my utmost efforts to administer my functions here with impartiality.” [Loud applause.]



George Washington

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

The first and greatest of all our Presidents, was born in Virginia on the 22d day of February, 1732. Washington was of heroic size and imposing carriage; his youthful service as a surveyor having given to his frame both strength and grace of bearing, and the natural firmness and magnificent poise of his mind shone in the calm and noble dignity of his countenance. Of ardent and impulsive temperament, so thoroughly had he mastered himself that it was only on the rarest occasions that he exhibited the slightest trace of agitation or temper.

A born soldier and commander of men, his advice to the imperious Braddock in his fatal campaign would, if accepted, have proved of inestimable value. Utterly fearless when in the pursuit of duty, the commonest soldier under him was exposed to no more risks than he himself encountered. In the crisis of the colonies, when some one must be found to take charge of their raw recruits and lead them against the disciplined legions of England, no one was thought of or named for this trying duty save the noble Virginian.

When "grim visaged war had smoothed his wrinkled front" and the nation in its infancy needed an experienced guide and guardian, Washington was selected for the position, and well and ably did he fill it. He was inaugurated April 30, 1789, and his firm and steady hand at the helm of the ship of state guided it securely through the threatening shoals and breakers, until all dangers were passed and she had reached the open sea of happiness and prosperity. Washington's two terms of office were from 1789 to 1797.

On the 14th day of December, 1799, Washington, the patriot, the hero, the sage, the soldier and the statesman, passed from the earthly stage of action. On him the poet Byron had passed the highest eulogy that poetry can offer to fame and character ; to him the grim and candid European veteran had sent a present and the tribute in a heroic epigram. "From the oldest general to the best." Grand in character and great in every position in life, "we shall not look upon his like again."

The chief events of Washington's administration, briefly epitomized, were the Indian troubles in Ohio, the defeat of Harmer, St. Clair's defeat, Wayne's victory, (at Maumee), removal of the Capitol to Philadelphia, admission of Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee, establishment of the National Bank, difficulty with the French Ambassador, Genet, the Pennsylvania Whisky Insurrection and Jay's Treaty.

Washington was a man of the kindest impulses and of the most unbounded hospitality and generosity. He recalls the noblest virtues of the grandest men of ancient Greece and Rome. Epaminondas and Cincinnatus were neither more heroic, more patriotic nor more simple in their tastes.

More than one proposition had been covertly made to him looking to the establishment of an empire with him at its head. These temptations were ever spurned by him with loathing and contempt. He had not, as some of those had who served with him through the times that tried men's souls, despaired of the ability of the people to maintain the liberty they had wrung from tyranny upon the bloody fields of the Revolution, and he had not lost faith in their honesty or their earnestness. With every faculty undimmed, and with his noble vigor of mind and soul and manhood undiminished, he passed calmly into the great beyond.



John Adams.

JOHN ADAMS.

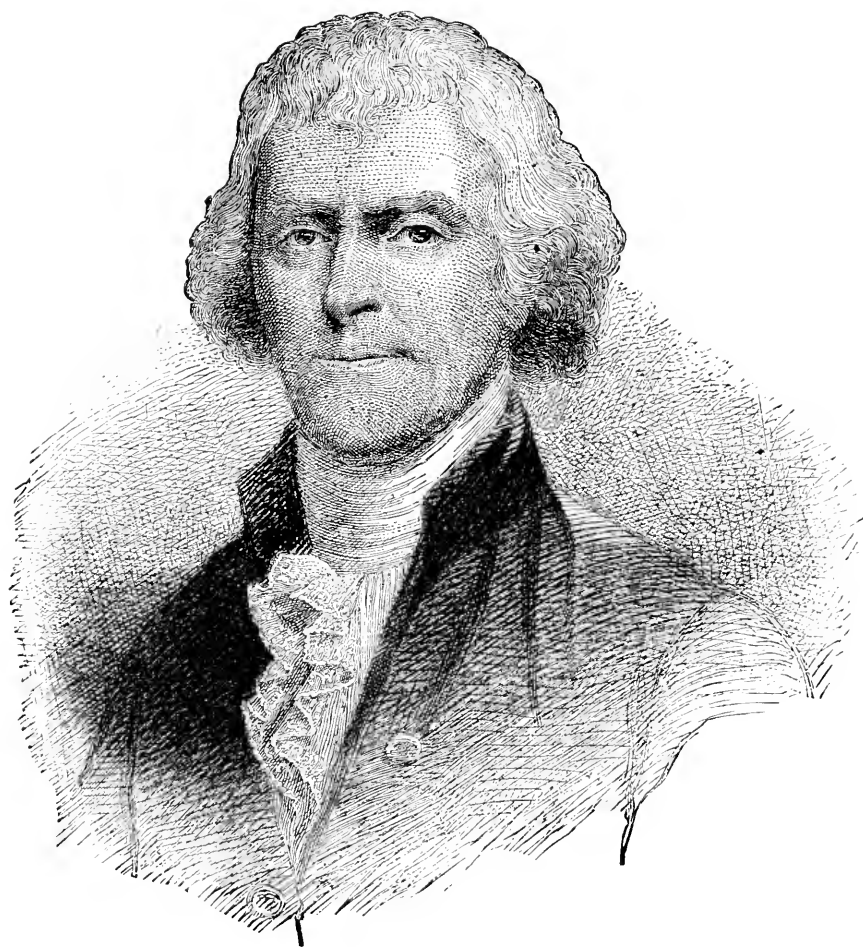
Adams, the second President of the United States, was born in Massachusetts on the 30th day of October, 1732, and died July 4th, 1826. During both of Washington's terms of office Adams had been Vice-President. Of unimpeachable honesty and undoubted ability he was by nature of a cold and distant disposition. He did not possess the grand nobility of soul that characterized Washington, and we find him an ardent partizan in the Federal and Anti-Federal feud.

His instigation of the presentation and passage of the "Alien and Sedition Laws" is a stain upon his administration, as these measures were undoubtedly despotic in import and of no utility. Whether Adams should bear the blame of this odious legislation, which was entirely in consonance with the feelings and desires of every member of his party, is questionable, though he has been charged with being the author of the laws whose tyranny excited the anger of the people and greatly weakened their confidence in the Federal party.

Adams' vacillation in his dealings with France was the result of a strong though pure and patriotic desire to remove the hostility of that country and to free American commerce from reprisals that were fast driving our marine from off the face of the ocean. That these attempts resulted in no good cannot be attributed to want of earnestness or desire on the part of the American Executive.

Adams' term of office was from 1797 to 1801, at which time the Federalists suffered a disastrous defeat, from the effects of which they did not recover for about a quarter of a century—24 years was the exact time. Adams lived to the extreme age of ninety-four years.

The chief occurrences of the John Adams' administration were the war with France, the death of General George Washington, the French Treaty, the Alien and Sedition Laws, and the removal of the Capitol to Washington City.



Th. Jefferson

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

The third President was born in Virginia, April 2nd, 1743, and was the greatest statesman that ever filled the office of Chief Executive of the United States. Honest and conscientious in action and belief, Jefferson was an ideal Democrat. Brilliantly educated; by birth a Patrician, he yet espoused the cause of the people and was untiring in his advocacy and defense of their rights. Well has he been called the father of the Democracy, for like Minerva from the mighty brain of Jove, Democracy sprang fully armed from the grand mind of Jefferson.

In the battle against Federalism, Jefferson was ever the leader. He planned the campaigns, dictated the policy, wrote the phillipics and led the hosts of the Democracy against aristocratic Federalism. Next to the Declaration of Independence—our Magna Charta—comes his inaugural address as an ideal state paper. It everywhere glows with honesty, patriotism, grandeur, nobility and the advocacy of the rights of the people. It has the true ring of liberty and equality.

Under the rule of Jefferson the country flourished with unexampled prosperity. The acquisition of the vast territory of Louisiana was one of the measures of his administration. The value of this purchase to American greatness can never be estimated. Out of it have since been carved some half a dozen States within whose borders are millions of citizens and billions of dollars of material wealth.

Under a rule so exactly just, yet so broad and liberal as that of Jefferson, no tyranny nor party proscription could thrive, and many of the Federal leaders, charmed by pros-

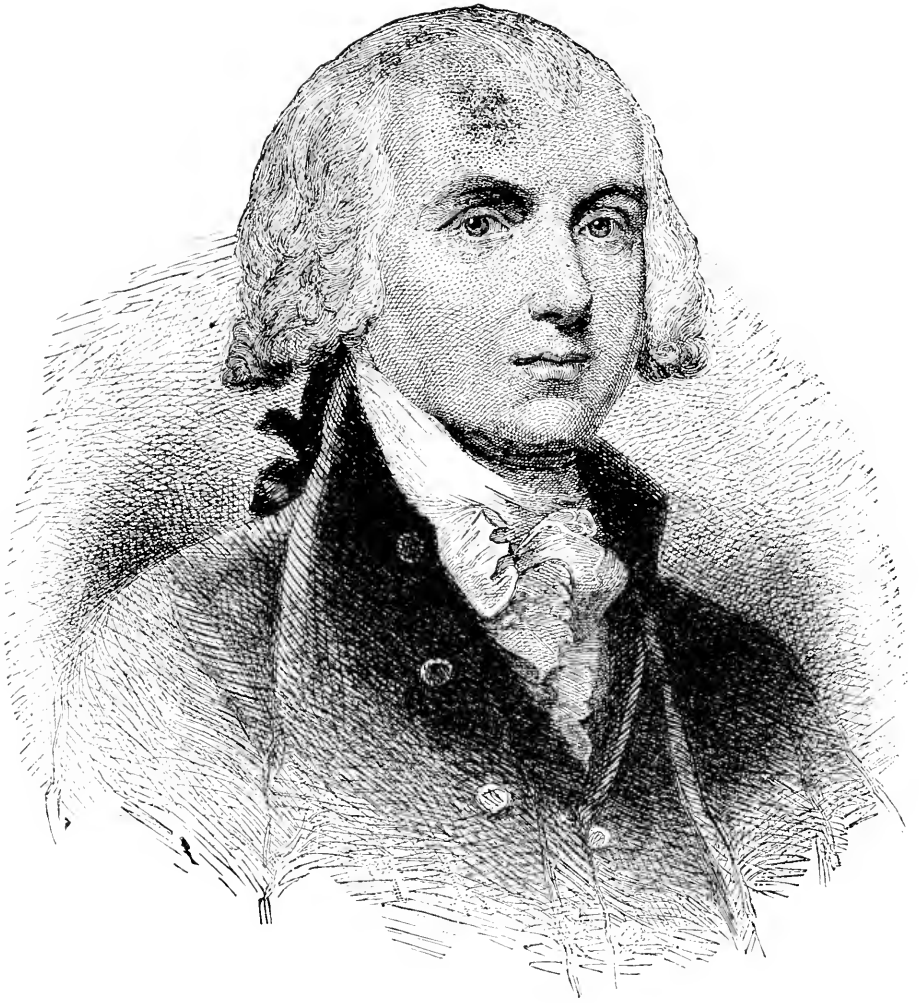
pect of such unexampled fairness, and won over by the golden virtues of Democracy, flocked to his standard, abandoning the cold and haughty tyranny of Federalism.

During Jefferson's term of office the celebrated duel between Aaron Burr and Alexander Hamilton occurred. Equally imperious and ambitious, the two men hated each other bitterly, and Hamilton forced on his fate by abuse and scandal concerning Burr, when the latter had become wrecked in his political ambitions. Hamilton was cold and haughty, longed for an aristocratic government fashioned something on the English model, and was the uncompromising foe of the Democracy. His death has been made the subject for a great deal of sentimental nonsense, being clearly provoked by his scandalous abuse of a fallen foe.

The settlement of the Barbary troubles, the reduction of the tariff, the repeal of direct taxes, absolute liberty of the press and of religious opinion, the diminution of the public debt, an honest policy in Indian affairs, a cutting off of all unnecessary public offices and useless or corrupt officers, distinguish the two terms of this President, who occupied the presidential office from 1801 to 1809.

Owing to his profuse and noble hospitality, Jefferson died in absolute distress; his fine estate of Monticello having been hopelessly encumbered and when (on the 4th of July, 1826,) he died, his corpse was laid in soil belonging to a stranger.

The chief events of Jefferson's administration were the war with Tripoli, the purchase of Louisiana, the admission of Ohio to the Union, Preble's expedition against Algiers, killing of Hamilton by Burr, in a duel; Burr's conspiracy, English and French assaults on American commerce, passage of the Embargo act, English attack on the Chesapeake, and the trial of Fulton's steamboat on the Hudson.



James Madison

JAMES MADISON.

Madison was born in Virginia, March 16, 1751, and died June 28, 1837. He followed Jefferson as the people's choice and it was well this noble pupil of the great teacher of Democracy should succeed him in the curule chair of the Presidency. A great crisis was upon the country. England, jealous of the growth of her alienated daughter, was using every endeavor of wily statecraft and all the resources of her grand marine to thwart and cripple the progress of the young nation. Declaring her right of search, and glorying in her unequalled strength, American vessels were subjected to every indignity.

This and other causes led to the war of 1812, which was vigorously and successfully fought by America. Although our navy was but small, its superior prowess was displayed in almost every combat, and whether upon the fresh waters of our inland seas or upon the vast bosom of the ocean, Britannia's pride was humbled and she no longer ruled the wave. At New Orleans, too, the sons of revolutionary sires taught the British land veterans that the martial ichor of their ancestors still flowed in their veins. Everywhere American arms triumphed, and a peace was speedily conquered.

Madison ruled over the destinies of America from 1809 to 1817, and his administration was one of brilliancy and success. The population was rapidly increasing, manufactures were springing up everywhere, agriculture yielded certain and ample returns, a national bank was established, and the people were contented and prosperous. Madison retired from the Presidency in 1817.

Madison, as a clear and forcible political writer, was but

little, if any, the inferior of Jefferson. His mind had not so grand a scope, but it was thoroughly logical and nothing escaped the keenness of its far-seeing vision. He it was whom Jefferson pitted against Hamilton, the great Federal chief, and the result is well known.

Madison was at first captivated by the cold and aristocratic charms of Federalism, but to such a mind and heart as his, its bold and scheming fallacies soon became repellant, and he turned to the noble goddess of Democracy and devoted his life to her service.

In private life, Madison was a Virginia gentleman of the old *regime*, polished, courtly, kind and liberal. Next to Jefferson, Madison takes rank as the greatest of all our statesmen. Like Jefferson, he was careless of money, and like him, generous in his hospitality. His scholarly attainments were almost as great as those of his beloved leader, whom he outlived but a single decade.

The great events of Madison's administration were the battle of Tippecanoe, declaration of war against England, the naval battles of the "President," and "Little Belt," the "Constitution" and the "Guerriere," the "Wasp" and the "Frolic," the "United States" and "Macedonian," the "Constitution" and the "Java," the surrender of Queens-town and Mackinaw, the admission of Louisiana to the Union, Perry's victory on the lakes, the battles of Frenchtown, the Thames, Lundy's Lane, Plattsburg and New Orleans, the siege of Fort Meigs, conclusion of the Creek war, capture and burning of Washington by the British, the infamous Hartford convention, naval combats of the "Hornet" and "Peacock," the "Chesapeake" and "Shannon," the "Argus" and "Pelican," the "Enterprise" and "Boxer," and the treaty of Ghent.



James Monroe

JAMES MONROE.

In 1817 Monroe assumed the helm of state. He was one of the most equitable of men and filled the Presidential office satisfactorily to all. He was born in Virginia, April 28, 1758, and had imbibed his political principles in the school of Jefferson and Madison. Utterly without ostentation, he possessed all of the solid virtues, and in the consideration of men and measures ever used the coolest and clearest judgment.

Under his administration the Seminole war raged with savage fury, and its conduct was confided to Andrew Jackson. The Floridas were ceded to the United States for the paltry sum of \$5,000,000. The acquisition was a grand one and almost universally popular. Alabama, Maine and Illinois were now admitted to the Union, making twenty-one States ; Louisiana having been admitted under Madison.

Anti-slavery agitation was already rife ; the application of Missouri for admission to the sisterhood giving rise to a heated debate and the adoption of the Missouri Compromise Measures, by which slavery was prohibited North of latitude $36\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.

So satisfactory had been Monroe's administration of his high office that when he offered for a second term in 1820, he encountered no opposition, but was elected by the unanimous suffrage of the people. In the Electoral College but a single vote was deposited against him, making his election almost equal to that of Washington. Monroe died July 4, 1831.

Under Monroe the most eventful occurrences were the admission of Mississippi, Illinois, Alabama, Maine, Missouri, the purchase of Florida, the capture of Pensacola, the Seminole war, the passage of the Missouri Compromise Act and the visit of LaFayette.



J. 2. Adams

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

John Quincy Adams, the sixth President of the United States, was born in Massachusetts, July 11, 1767, and was the son of John Adams, the second President. This is the sole instance in which any two members of the same family have held this office. He was a man of fine talents and considerable political and diplomatic experience. When he came into office his party (Federal) had been out of power for twenty-four years, and only the adoption by the Democracy of certain Federal measures gave them this renewal of political life.

Adams did not run as an open, undisguised Federalist, nor was he honestly or honorably elected. It was only by a compromise bargain between his friends and those of Henry Clay that the old hero, Andrew Jackson, was defrauded of the Presidency. This "corrupt coalition" brought to Adams but little save trouble and vexation, and to its other participants disgrace and banishment from political life. Henry Clay was forced into the Whig party first and later out of the Senate, though afterward he resumed political life. Adams died February 23, 1847.

The tariff question was a source of vexation and dispute, and so unsettled were all of its bearings that we find its warmest adherents of one administration its bitterest opponents in the next. Randolph of Roanoke, Clay, Calhoun and Webster were the great men of this day.

Of this administration the chief events were the electoral disagreement by which Adams secured the Presidency, the Creek Indian removal controversy, the tariff agitation, and the deaths of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson.



Andrew Jackson

ANDREW JACKSON.

Jackson was pre-eminently a military man, born with the martial instinct, and a Revolutionary soldier at the childish age of thirteen. He was born in South Carolina, but his parents removed to Tennessee while he was but an infant. His career in camps and upon his country's battle-fields had left to the rugged soldier but little time for courtly graces or a finished education, but the native vigor of his mind was wonderful, and his honesty absolutely incorruptible. When approached by Clay's friends for a bargain, in 1824, he had bluntly told them that he would see them, Mr. Clay and himself, sunk into the earth before he would soil his honor by such foul huckstering and defiance of the people's will.

Adams' unscrupulous conduct in his "midnight appointments" really forced upon Jackson the sweeping displacements by which numbers were thrown out of office and their places supplied by Democrats. Then, too, he might have thought he was bound in honor to reward the Democracy for its services, and console it for its former disappointment. He could, in all seriousness, have claimed that every man appointed by Adams was fraudulently appointed and therefore unworthy of the place.

Jackson's services to his country were vast and varied. For over half a century he had been her brave and faithful soldier against foreign and domestic foes, and he was in every way worthy of the honor conferred by the gift of the Presidency. His two terms of office were from 1829 to 1837. He was a true friend, and an open, honorable enemy, and possessed of indomitable courage. His diplomacy savored rather of the camp than the court, but it was most effectual.

By the treaty of 1831 France agreed to pay to the United States \$5,000,000, indemnity for injuries to American commerce.

In 1834 that nation had not paid over the money, and Jackson ordered home the American minister then at Paris, and advised that French vessels should be seized in lieu of the money. His method proved effectual, and France at once paid the amount promised.

In personal character Jackson was rather dictatorial—the result, no doubt, of a life long spent in military commands, where he was supreme, and where such seeming dogmatism might easily have been acquired. He was what Dr. Johnson called a “good hater,” but he was also the staunchest of friends to those in whom he placed confidence, or to whom he owed gratitude.

He was the uncompromising enemy of that first of American money monopolies, the National Bank, and vetoed and re-vetoed it with a will. Doing nothing until he was assured that he was in the right, he never faltered or turned back. Jackson was born March 15, 1767, and died June 8, 1845.

The principal occurrences during his administration were the Black Hawk and Seminole wars, the tariff legislation, South Carolina nullification, vetoing the National Bank charter renewal, removal of government funds from the National Bank, admission of Arkansas, anti-slavery agitation, the great panic, \$20,000,000 fire in New York, and the massacre of Major Dade and his command of one hundred and seventeen men, but a single one escaping.



Erwan Bieu

MARTIN VAN BUREN.

Martin Van Buren was a native of New York, born December 5, 1782. He was Vice-President under Jackson, and replaced Calhoun in the estimation of the President, with whom he had formerly been a prime favorite. This, Calhoun always alleged, was by trickery and intrigue, but no matter what its cause, "Old Hickory" was sufficiently powerful with his party to secure the succession to Van Buren for the term of 1837 to 1841.

The administration of Van Buren fell on evil times. Clay's pet measures had carried, the land revenue surplus had been divided amongst the States, paper currency had taken the place of coin, and a universal panic affected the country. Specie payments had been entirely suspended, bank after bank and firm after firm had collapsed, values were shrinking daily, and commerce and industries were paralyzed. The Sub-Treasury Bill sought to restore confidence and relieve the distress, but it was impossible to at once overcome the disaster.

The Florida war still continued, but Gen. Zachary Taylor, a soldier of the true Jackson type, indefatigable, brave and judicious, was now conducting the campaign, and eventually conquered a peace from the savage Seminoles. The subjugation of these Indians cost the United States \$40,000,000, to say nothing of the valuable lives sacrificed in the treacherous warfare of the aborigines. Van Buren died July 24, 1862.

The most notable events of this administration were the great panic, the Seminole war, the Canadian rebellion, Taylor's victory at Lake Okeechobee, and the admission of Michigan.



W. H. Harrison

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

In 1840 the Whig party was about at its last gasp. Extraordinary measures alone could save them ; the people had penetrated the thin veil that covered their aristocratic tendencies, and had deserted to the enemy, whose policy was better calculated to benefit and to hold them.

In the very acme of their crisis the happy thought of sacrificing Clay and other leaders, and going before the people on the military record and fresh successes of General William Henry Harrison occurred and he was at once selected to lead the Whig hosts on to victory.

Harrison had become sufficiently a favorite of the public to gain from the people the nick-name of "Old Tippecanoe," from his greatest Indian victory, and his services to the country in her border warfare and that of 1812 had been many and varied. He was neither a statesman nor a politician, but he was a thoroughly honest man and a simple, hospitable citizen.

When called to the Presidency he was clerk of a court in Ohio, earning a small salary, and apparently thoroughly satisfied with his lot. While his hospitality was boundless, his tastes were simple and he was the modern type of a Spartan soldier, brave but frugal.

The Whig watch-word of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," stirred up the martial enthusiasm of the American people, and the "Log cabin and hard cider" campaign of 1840 resulted, we cannot truly say in a Whig victory, but in such an expression of admiration for the Whig candidate that he was elected. All classes, Whig and Democrat, conspired to reward his services in the field by the highest civil office in their gift.

Harrison was born in Virginia, February 9, 1773, inaugurated on the 4th day of March, 1841, and died—after a term embraced in exactly one month—on the 4th day of April, 1841. He was the first of the Presidents to die in office.



John Tyler

JOHN TYLER.

Harrison was succeeded by John Tyler, who filled out the remainder of the term, consisting of three years and eleven months. Tyler was born in Virginia, March 29, 1790. His inauguration took place April 6, 1841, and his death occurred January 17, 1862.

The Whigs expected that Tyler would obediently carry out the programme they had laid down for Harrison, but the former had, while a member of the Democratic party, placed himself upon the record with regard to certain measures, and was unwilling to stultify himself by a direct contradiction of that record.

The special session of Congress, called by Harrison, convened on the 31st day of May, and measures were devised to relieve the financial distress. A bankrupt law was passed, but Tyler resolutely vetoed the National Bank Bill, against the constitutionality of which he had expressed himself while in the Democratic party. A second bill of the same kind met with a veto, and Tyler was indignantly denounced by the Whigs who had elected him. All the members of his Cabinet, except Daniel Webster, resigned. The northern boundary of the United States was settled under his administration.

The Dorr Insurrection in Rhode Island occurred, and was suppressed by United States troops. The question of Texan annexation also came up, and just two days before the expiration of his term of office, Tyler signed the bill for the admission of Texas, and made certain the war with Mexico.

Of this dual administration the principal events were the death of Harrison, fixing the northern national boundary, repeal of the Sub-Treasury Bill, Tyler's vetoes of the National Bank Bill, the perfection of the magnetic telegraph, the admission of Florida, the Dorr rebellion, and the annexation of Texas to the United States.



James W. Falk

JAMES K. POLK.

James Knox Polk was born in North Carolina, November 2, 1795, but was a resident of Tennessee when elected to the Presidency. Polk was a man of only mediocre attainments, but was positive almost to dogmatism. By profession he was a lawyer, but his practice was mostly that of politics. At the time of his election he was but little known to the people, and was the first "dark horse" candidate in our politics.

Since that day this move has been extensively practiced, especially amongst the Republicans, who seem averse to putting up their most prominent men. This presenting a comparatively unknown man is generally caused by compromising the claims of two or more of the most able men seeking the nomination.

Polk was thoroughly honest, and his bluntness gave offense to many, and estranged from him numerous political associates and friends. Clay was the Whig candidate against Polk, and took his defeat very bitterly. He felt that he had been defrauded of the previous nomination, the only chance the Whigs had had for years, and he felt that the dream of his life would never be realized.

General Taylor was sent to Texas to take measures against a Mexican invasion, and as Mexico declined all negotiation, he moved on to the Rio Grande, which the Texans claimed as their western boundary. Hostilities were now begun by the Mexicans attacking and capturing a company of American cavalry. The first serious battle was between Taylor, with 2,300 men, and a Mexican force of 6,000 strongly entrenched at Palo Alto. Driven from this point, the Mexi-

cans retreated to Resaca de la Palma, and on the next day opposed the grand old hero. Although they were in greatly superior force, Taylor again routed his foes.

In battle after battle did the victorious Americans overcome the enemy, and finally succeeded in conquering their capital, and there dictated terms of peace. New Mexico and California were at the same time overrun by American troops. The grandest and most successful battle ever fought by American troops against such immense odds was that of Buena Vista, where Taylor's volunteers routed the flower of the Mexican forces, who were nearly five to one. All through this war the treachery of the Mexicans was fully exhibited. A treaty of peace was concluded at Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848.

Gold was discovered in California in 1848, the gold fever began to rage in 1849, and the attention of the world was attracted to this new American territory, crowds flocking in from every quarter of the globe to the new Eldorado. A potato famine in Ireland caused a large emigration to the United States from that country. The Wilmot Proviso, brought forward at this time, caused the organization of the Free Soil party, of which Van Buren was the candidate in 1848. Polk died June 15, 1849.

The eventful incidents of Polk's administration were the admission of Florida, Iowa and Wisconsin; the annexation of Texas, the war with Mexico, the victories of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Matamoras, Monterey, Buena Vista, Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, Contreras, Molino del Rey, Chapultepec and Mexico; the discovery of gold in California, and the Wilmot Proviso.



Zachary Taylor.

ZACHARY TAYLOR.

General Taylor, the twelfth President of the United States, was born in Virginia, November 24, 1784. From his youth up to his sixty-fourth year, Taylor fought in the wars of his country, and proved himself as skillful a leader as he was a gallant soldier. Prior to the war with Mexico his chief service had been against the Seminole Indians in Florida. In Mexico he reaped fresh and greater laurels. His indomitable bravery at Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Matamoras, Monterey and especially at Buena Vista, made him the military hero *par excellence* in the estimation of his countrymen.

His heroism completely overshadowed the exploits of General Scott, who had unjustly robbed him of all of his regular troops, and the Whig party, then *in extremis*, in looking around for an available candidate, very wisely pitched upon Taylor.

That Taylor was a Whig is extremely doubtful; in fact, he himself always proclaimed that he was not a party man, still he was the only man that could save Whigism from dissolution, and he was eagerly accepted.

In his letters written at the time that the nomination was proposed to him—and they were neither few nor far between—Taylor always avowed his distaste for party, and declared that he would not bind himself as a strict party candidate. It is difficult to conceive so modest a man as Taylor, and who had just crowned himself with laurels in a battle that had attracted the attention of the world, as longing for civil office.

The probability is that he sought it as a rebuke to the administration that had promised him so much, only to disappoint him at the most critical moment, by taking from him all of his regular troops and turning them over to Scott. This injustice, however, was the cause of his grandest success, for Santa Anna, learning that he had been greatly weakened, pounced down upon him, only to be shamefully and disastrously defeated, while Taylor's heroic defense crowned him with glory.

Lewis Cass, of Michigan, the Democratic candidate, was beaten by a large majority, and the existence of the Whig party prolonged for a short period. Taylor was neither a statesman nor a politician, but he was thoroughly honest, of sound judgment, and as modest as a school girl.

During his short career in office—he died July 9, 1850—he had won many friends of the opposite party, and easily held those of his own. Taylor was a resident of Louisiana when elected. During his short administration the anti-slavery agitation was violent.

Clay's "Omnibus Bill," intended to soothe this agitation, and create a feeling of friendship and satisfaction between the hostile sections, had been prepared during the closing days of Taylor's term, but it was not until after his death that it was passed, and then its effects were but temporary.

The principal events of this administration were the death of Calhoun (March 31, 1850), the anti-slavery agitation, the organization of the territory of New Mexico, and the death of Taylor himself.



Millard Fillmore

MILLARD FILLMORE.

Fillmore, the second President by succession—he having been Taylor's Vice-President—was born in New York, January 7, 1800, and succeeded to the Presidency July 9, 1850. The [Presidential chair never held a man more honest or more patriotic than Millard Fillmore. He had the Roman virtues and the Roman nobility of character, and was as self-poised and conscientious as Washington himself. No amount of popular clamor could drive him from his duty, no amount of party praise could cajole him into the commission of a wrong.

Clay's "Omnibus Bill"—a compromise measure—passed September 18, 1850, and for a while its effect was good, but the Abolitionists had determined to "rule or ruin," and their clamors soon arose again. The subject of the Newfoundland coast fisheries also agitated Congress, and this was not quieted until 1854. In 1852 Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, visited the United States, and was everywhere warmly welcomed. In this year—June 28, 1852—Henry Clay died, and then passed away the grandest orator the United States has ever known.

Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Law, and Fillmore promptly affixed his signature to the measure. Under Fillmore letter postage was reduced, and the Lopez Cuban invasion took place. The effort to make California a slave State also agitated this administration, the chief events of which were the admission of California to the Union, the organization of Utah territory, the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, the deaths of Clay and Webster, the visit of Kossuth, the descent on Cuba, the coast fisheries agitation and the postage reduction.



Franklin Pierce

FRANKLIN PIERCE.

In the campaign of 1852, Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, was the Democratic candidate. He was born in New-Hampshire, November 23, 1804, and was a comparatively unknown man, being another of the "dark horses" of the Democracy. By profession he was a lawyer, and had represented his State in the National Senate. In the Mexican war he held the position of a general, but made no record for gallantry or generalship. His opponent was General Winfield Scott, and the Whig party hoped to repeat the success they had obtained by nominating General Taylor.

Their effort proved a failure, and they secured only 42 electoral votes to 254 for Pierce, although the Free Soil Democracy sought to injure the regular ticket by naming John P. Hale as their candidate. This defeat finished the Whig party, and from this time we find an organization solely on slavery and abolition lines, if we except the Native American movement which now began.

The dispute (in 1853) over the New Mexican boundary resulted in the acquisition of a considerable territory by purchase, this measure being known as the Gadsden purchase. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill caused additional abolition excitement and resulted in Douglas' Squatter Sovereignty Resolutions, by which the Missouri Compromise (of 1820) was repealed. Pierce died October 8, 1869. The chief occurrences of his administration were the Gadsden purchase, the action of some of the free States declaring all slaves entering their borders free, the Know-nothing agitation, the Kansas troubles, the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, the Squatter Sovereignty Resolutions, and Perry's treaty with Japan.



James Buchanan.

JAMES BUCHANAN.

James Buchanan was born in Pennsylvania, April 23, 1791, and died June 1st, 1868. In 1856 the Whig party was at its last gasp, and in opposition to Buchanan, the Democratic nominee, they did not feel strong enough to put up a straight-out candidate. The overwhelming defeat of Scott by an unknown man convinced them that Federalism had had its day, and accordingly they endorsed the nomination of Fillmore made by the American party. In the subsequent election some of them voted for Fillmore, but the bulk of the party went over to Fremont, recognizing the Republican party as the true and legitimate successor to the imperialistic, high tariff, sectional and revolutionary mantle of Whigism and Federalism.

The Slogan of "free men, free soil and Fremont" gathered into the Abolition fold a mongrel following, but one that developed surprising strength; their candidate securing 114 electoral votes, while Fillmore got but 8, and Buchanan 174. Buchanan was doomed to preside over troubled elements. The insolent and infamous Mormons broke out in open insurrection, to support their vile polygamous practices, but the United States troops, under Albert Sidney Johnson, compelled promises of better behavior in the future.

Having kept a close outlook upon the political affairs of the States, the Mormons, at the time of their outbreak, judged that by the time that an armed force could be marched against them a civil war would have been begun that would occupy the entire attention of the government, and leave them free to organize their infamous empire of

lust and murder, in peace. How shrewd was their judgment after-events amply prove.

A financial panic occurred in 1857 and greatly hindered the prosperity of the country. The next year the first Atlantic cable was successfully laid, and Minnesota was admitted into the Union. Oregon followed in 1859. In the fall of this year a silly old fanatic, John Brown, attempted an invasion of Virginia and the creation of a servile insurrection. His force consisted of twenty-one men and committed several murders in the streets of Harpers Ferry. Several of them were killed, a few escaped and the rest, including Brown, were captured and hung for the murders they had committed.

Legislation for the admission of Kansas as a State failed until January, 1861, when she came in as a free State. The raid of Brown and the incautious utterances of the more fanatical Abolition leaders greatly embittered the Southern States and prepared them for open revolt in 1861. They declared a Republican success equivalent to the the speedy and unconstitutional abolition of slavery and this they pledged themselves to resist. Buchanan, thoroughly honest and a man of fine judgment, endeavored to calm this sectional agitation, but the ship was already amongst the breakers and nothing in human power could avert disaster.

Of this administration the chief events were the Mormon insurrection, the Kansas legislation and troubles, the John Brown raid, the financial panic of 1857, the admission of Oregon, Minnesota and Kansas, the laying of the Atlantic cable and the secession movement of the slave States.



Your friend & ever

A. Lincoln

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Abraham Lincoln, the sixteenth President of the United States, was the first distinctively sectional candidate that ever held the position. He was born in Kentucky, February 12, 1809, but was a resident of Illinois at the time of his election. His education was poor, but his mind had native brightness and strength, his disposition was eminently jocular and Joe Miller himself did not have a keener relish for a *bon mot*. Those told of Lincoln are inexhaustible, and to Kentuckians familiar with both, his form, features and love of fun irresistibly called up that prince of rough wits and good fellows, old Ben Hardin, who was his neighbor in Kentucky.

Lincoln's administration witnessed the culmination of sectional passion into sectional strife, the warfare of giants. After the election, in 1860, South Carolina seceded and was quickly followed by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas, and in February, 1861, the government of the Confederate States was organized. Four years of terrible warfare now followed, in which at first the Seceded States were almost invariably successful, but eventually the Union forces triumphed and the war ceased.

Lincoln was again elected, (in 1864), and inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1865. On the evening of the 14th day of April, 1865, he was assassinated in a private box in Ford's theater, by John Wilkes Booth, a crazy though talented son of the eminent actor Junius Brutus Booth, whose lunacy and genius he seems to have inherited in equal degree. His object was merely to obtain a notoriety that he valued as fame, for he was a staunch Union man.

It was sought to be proved that the assassination of Lincoln was brought about with the aid and consent of Jeff Davis and other Confederate leaders, but on the trial of Harold, Payne, Atzerott and others implicated, it was clearly shown to be the wild conception of Booth and a few of his comrades as crack-brained as himself. Had Davis been in any way connected with the scheme, he would have been tried for it and executed, after he was taken prisoner.

Lincoln's term of office thus lasted but four years and forty days, and another was added to the list of America's Presidents that had died in the harness.

To briefly enumerate the eventful occurrences of his administration they were the secession of Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas, Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, Missouri and Arkansas; the organization of the Southern Confederacy; the attack on Sumpter; the naval battle of the Merrimac and Monitor; the numerous battles of the war; the emancipation proclamation; the admission of the western part of Virginia as a State, the admission of Nevada; the naval battle of the Alabama and Kearsage; the fall of Richmond; the surrender of Lee and Johnson; and the assassination of the President himself.



Andrew Johnson

ANDREW JOHNSON.

Andrew Johnson was born in North Carolina, December 29, 1808, and died July 31, 1875. He was a resident of Tennessee when elected Vice-President, and on Lincoln's death became President, being inaugurated April 15, 1865. Johnson was a man of strict integrity, but obstinate, dogmatic and self-willed. He was thoroughly patriotic and utterly fearless in the discharge of his duty. He put the machinery of the army and the police in motion to apprehend Booth and his companions, and on the 26th of April, Booth was surrounded in a barn, where he had been forced to take refuge on account of a fractured ankle, and refusing to surrender, he was fired upon and killed.

His companion, a young man named Harold, was taken at the time and afterwards hung at the same time with Louis Payne Powell, Atzerott and Mrs. Mary E. Surratt. The execution of the latter was nothing more than judicial murder, and will ever remain a foul blot upon all connected with it. The execution of the others was well deserved. Johnson now began to differ greatly with his party. He held that a State had no right to secede, and that though in rebellion they had all along been members of the Union.

This was also the doctrine of the Republican party until they became successful, and then they held that the seceded States were conquered provinces and should be treated as such. His unwillingness to submit to partisan dictation led to his impeachment, the removal of Stanton—who aimed to be an autocrat—being made the pretext.

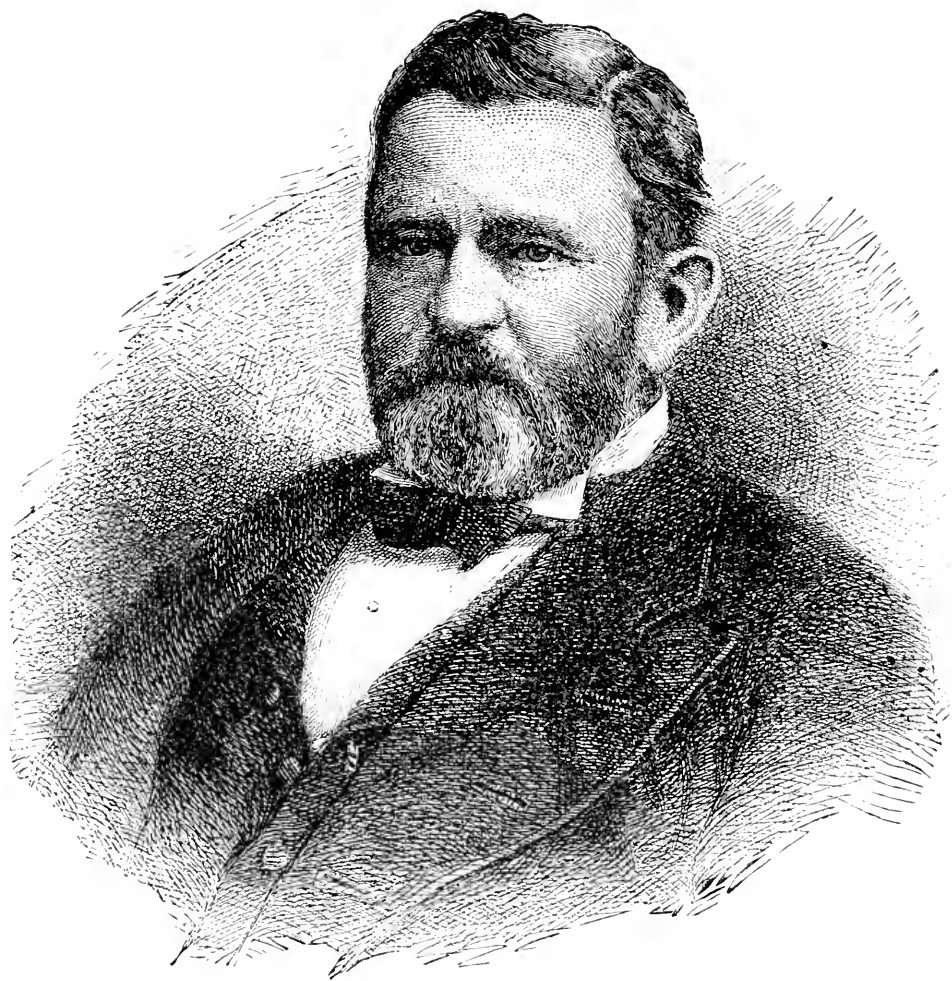
A great many new political ideas were advanced by the Republicans when they sought to secure the impeachment

of Johnson, one of them being that the Vice-President, on succeeding to the Presidency, through the death of the President, was then merely a substitute filling out an unexpired term, and not really a President.

As such substitute they held that he was bound by the acts of the dead man, and had no right to displace Cabinet officers appointed by him. This was contrary to all precedent, as well as to common sense, and the few Republican Senators named had too much decency to stultify themselves by going upon the record as sharers in such a belief.

Amongst the Republicans were still to be found four Senators who had sufficient respect for honesty and decency, and sufficient disregard for partisan malice to vote for the acquittal. The names of these men should be remembered: they were Grimes of Iowa, Edmunds of Vermont, Trumbull of Illinois and Fessenden of Maine. Johnson was acquitted of the charges brought against him and Stanton, whose tyranny and insolence led to his dismissal, resigned his position as Secretary of War, he having been reinstated by Congress.

Of Johnson's administration the principal events were the completion of an Atlantic cable, the admission of Nebraska, the purchase of Alaska, the amnesty proclamation, the adoption of the Constitutional amendments, the Stanton-Grant difficulty, and the Johnson impeachment trial.



A. S. Brant

ULYSSES S. GRANT.

Ulysses S. Grant was born April 27, 1822, in the State of Ohio, and after his successful military career, he was inaugurated President of the United States March 4, 1869. A graduate of West Point, Grant's career has been an exceedingly checked one. Prior to the civil war he had been allowed to resign from the army and was eking out a miserable subsistence on a farm near St. Louis. If the old citizens of the county are to be believed, his fondness for stimulants was excessive and kept his family reduced to the most bitter poverty.

Though not the equal of Sherman or Thomas in military skill, he was luckier than either, and being appointed Commander-in-chief at a time when further experiments in search of a general were felt to be useless, he succeeded by means of an unlimited number of men in overcoming the army of Lee and the Confederacy was conquered. This paved the way to the Presidency which he held for two terms. Grant's military operations in Virginia bear no comparison with those of McLellan so far as strategy is concerned, and his whole dependence seems to have been in the vast superiority of his forces. At Cold Harbor, in an assault upon Lee's lines, he lost ten thousand men in less than twenty minutes.

Neither a statesman nor a politician, and possessing an inordinate greed for wealth, Grant's civil administration was cursed with more of fraud and corruption than that of any other President. If his associates are to be believed, he shared in such infamies as those of the whisky ring, and indeed but few persons of either party ever doubted this.

Grant's moral sense is exceedingly obtuse, and he represents all that is sordid and disreputable in American politics. For years after his second term of office he figured as the great national pauper, ever ready for a gift or a benefaction, and did not seem to realize anything shameful or extraordinary in this hat-passing for a man who had occupied the office of chief executive of the United States.

A man of undoubted firmness, and of more talent than even the most of his friends have credited him with possessing, Grant lacked dignity, moral rectitude, and that sense of fitness usually inborn in all Americans.

The most eventful occurrences of his administration were the completion of the Pacific railroad, the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, the great Chicago fire, the settlement of the Alabama claims, the adjustment of the Northwestern boundary, the war with the Modoc Indians, the great financial panic of 1873, the Centennial exhibition, the Custer massacre, the re-admission of Virginia, Mississippi and Texas, the Credit Mobilier infamies and exposures, the St. Louis whisky ring, the deaths of Generals Robert E. Lee and George H. Thomas, Admiral Farragut, Horace Greeley, Charles Sumner and Andrew Johnson; the admission of Colorado to the Union and the San Domingo scheme.



Sincerely
R. B. Hayes

R. B. HAYES.

Rutherford B. Hayes represents the crowning infamy of the Republican party—the theft of the Presidency. He was born in Vermont, some accounts say Ohio, October 4, 1822, but was a citizen of Ohio at the time of his inauguration. His opponent was Samuel J. Tilden, who was elected to the office out of which he was defrauded by the infamous majority of the Electoral Commission.

Going into office under the peculiar circumstances which surrounded its acquisition, Hayes made a noble effort to blot that stain from the remembrance of the people by a fair and judicious administration. The persecution of the Southern States, which under Grant had been delivered over to the carpet-baggers and other thieves and scoundrels, ceased; the better elements were allowed an opportunity to again place the country in a condition of prosperity, and the effect was wonderful.

The property-holders of the reconstructed States had been taxed and robbed in every conceivable manner, and the industries and progress of that section completely paralyzed. Under Hayes' administration this was changed, and the recuperation was immediate and wonderful. The remonetization of silver was one of the measures of this administration and received the President's veto. This was plainly a move in the wrong direction, and the bill was passed over his veto, which was in the interest of the banks and the bondholders.

The most important events of Hayes' administration were the removal of troops from the Southern States, and the non-interference of the Federal authorities with State legislation in that section; the Nez Perces war; the remonetization of silver, the resumption of specie payments, and the inauguration of Hayes on the 5th of March—the 4th falling upon Sunday.



J. A. Garfield

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

James Abram Garfield, was born at Orange, Cuyahoga county, Ohio, November 19, 1831. His early life was a brave struggle against poverty, but he succeeded in accomplishing a College education, and at the breaking out of the civil war was a professor in Hiram College in his native State.

During the war Garfield rose to the rank of a Major-General, but gained no particular laurels as a soldier. While serving in the army he was elected to Congress, and his political life, thus begun, was continued for seventeen years.

In 1879 he was elected to the United States Senate—just twenty years before (1859) he had been elected to the Ohio State Senate—but the Republican Presidential Convention nominated him for President, and his place in the Senate was never occupied by him. His administration promised well; the prosecution of the star-route thieves was begun, and it seemed as if the rogues and barnacles of Republicanism were about to suffer.

From the manner in which Garfield began his administration it is but justice to believe that he intended to give to the country a fair, equitable and honest government. While the measures by which the State of Indiana was carried for the Republicans can meet with the approbation of no honest or patriotic man, yet, from the inauguration of the prosecution of the Star-route thieves we must conclude that Garfield, once in office, had made up his mind to a rigid and correct performance of his duty.

On the 2d of July, 1881, while at the depot of the Baltimore and Ohio railway, in Washington City, he was twice

fired upon by Charles Jules Guiteau, and was mortally wounded. Guiteau was one of the peculiar products of Republican civilization, which fancies that its acts are superior to the law that guides and controls ordinary mortals.

He was the outgrowth of the sentiment that could worship as a saint a reckless murderer and instigator of outrage, arson and assassination. Guiteau was a Stalwart Republican, while Garfield represented the milder and better wing of the party—the Half-breed or Liberal wing.

Garfield died at Long Branch on the 19th day of September, 1881, and his funeral services were held at the Capitol, in Washington, on the 23d of September, and his remains then taken to Cleveland, Ohio, for burial. Guiteau, his assassin, was tried in Washington, and sentenced to be hung June 30, 1882, which sentence was carried into effect. Guiteau was arraigned October 14, 1881, but his trial was not completed until the 25th of January, 1882.

That the assassin was insane is probable, but his insanity was rather that of miscalculation than of irresponsibility. He fancied that he would become as great a hero with the Stalwarts as John Brown had with the rank and file of the party, and confidently expected their undying gratitude, an early deliverance from durance, and an exalted position in their ranks.



C. F. Arthur

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

Chester Allan Arthur—the successor of Garfield in the Presidential chair—was born in Vermont, October 5, 1830, and was inaugurated September 20, 1881. He was a well-known New York politician, one of the Grant machine men, and had been mixed up in all the questionable political practices of his clique. He was by profession a lawyer, but was more a politician than an attorney, and was collector at the port of New York for some years.

Under Arthur the prosecution of the Star-route thieves was lamely conducted, and in consequence they escaped punishment. Some of the indictments were held off so long that the accused were allowed to escape under the statute of limitations, and those who were prosecuted had little difficulty in escaping from coat-of-arms Brewster and asinine though egotistical George Bliss. The trials enabled the administration to fee, in an extravagant manner, several of its incompetent creatures, and thousands of dollars were uselessly expended.

The chief events of this administration have been the trial and conviction of Charles J. Guiteau, the cabinet difficulties, the Star-route farce, the great fishing spree of Arthur to the Yellowstone, and the number of new coats and breeches ordered by the President. To do Arthur justice, however, it should be added that his administration has been negatively good; that is, he has not done as poorly as he might have done. He has entertained liberally and like a gentleman, has kept remarkably free of all rings, and except in Star-route matters has made but few lamentable failures. His administration should have the credit of being the best dressed one the country has ever seen.

CHAPTER LX.

EARLY AMERICAN POLITICS.

DUTIES OF CITIZENSHIP.—ITS PROFITS AND PRIVILEGES.—PROPER METHODS OF STUDYING OUR INSTITUTIONS.—TRYING SITUATIONS.—INTERPRETERS OF THE CONSTITUTION.—OUR UNTRAMMELLED FRANCHISE.—WHO MAY ASPIRE TO POSITION.—HONOR AND INTELLECT THE TEST OF MANHOOD.—THE POWER OF KNOWLEDGE.—IMPORTANT STATIONS.—A LASTING VALUE.—A POLITICAL GUIDE-BOOK.—PROTEST AGAINST TYRANNY.—THE FIRST AMERICAN CONGRESS.—THE CONVENTION OF 1774.—NON-INTERCOURSE RESOLUTIONS.—THE FIRST GUN FOR LIBERTY.—THE COLONIAL CONGRESS.—WASHINGTON MADE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.—DEPARTMENTS ESTABLISHED.—DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.—ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.—BIRTH OF THE UNITED STATES.—ARTICLES RATIFIED.—STRONG GOVERNMENT WHIGS.—PARTICULARIST WHIGS.—FIRST POLITICAL PARTIES.—FIFTEEN FORGOTTEN PRESIDENTS.

In return for the inestimable boon of civil and religious freedom, which is bestowed upon and guaranteed to the American citizen by that grandest of all human documents, our deathless Constitution, it should be the aim of every one—not only of the native born, but also of the adopted citizen of foreign nationality—to so study the history and course of political events that he may intelligently aid in the dissemination and preservation of the ideas and sentiments that animated the souls of the founders of our glorious Republic, last born and grandest nurtured of all the sister bands of nations.

To acquire the knowledge necessary to fit the citizen for the exercise of the privilege of franchise, no method is more productive of good results than the study of the lives and actions of our prominent men and the noting of their course and

conduct in the difficult and trying situations in which the unraveling of political problems may have placed them. As the counsellor and the jurist must interpret the statutes and principles of law which are laid down in the books, so the statesman must unfold the hidden or ambiguous meanings of that grander book of human liberty, the second and greatest *Magna Charta* that has sprung into existence amongst English speaking races.

Untrammelled by any required accident of birth or fortune to fit him for a seat in either State or National Legislature, the lives of our statesmen are guide-books by which the poorest and lowliest in the land may trace out his course to fortune and to fame.

“Low birth and iron fortune,
Twin jailors of the daring heart”

in other lands, have, in free America, thank Heaven! no time-honored power to beat down aspiration and to humble honorable ambition. Here the battle is to the brave of heart and true of soul; the race to him whose intellect alone exalts him above his fellows.

In such a land as this, knowledge becomes truly power, and nowhere else is study so amply repaid as here, where toil so certainly and swiftly finds its recompense. Is it then too much to ask that those who exercise the rights and powers of the ballot should understand its import, that they may use it intelligently and for the greatest good of themselves and others? The dreaming youth of to-day may in the next decade become a Representative in the halls of Congress, and the self-exiled citizen of Europe may, in the grand impartiality of American appreciation, be selected to fill no less important a station. Each, therefore, should

give to all subjects of political importance sufficient time and study to comprehend the duties of these positions.

In order that this work may have a lasting value—that of being a reliable and comprehensive reference book on all subjects of political interest—we herewith give an accurate synopsis of the various steps in the formation and guidance of the affairs of the United States, from the inception of the Revolution down to the present day, thus condensing a library of political information in a single volume.

1765.

In 1765 so odious had become the Navigation Laws, Stamp Acts and other oppressive enactments of England, that the Massachusetts House of Representatives recommended a Congress of Delegates from all of the Colonies to protest against these tyrannical measures. This Congress was held in New York on the first Tuesday in October, 1765, and Representatives were present from all of the Colonies except New Hampshire. Timothy Ruggles was elected its President. This Congress recommended the Colonies to send special agents with petitions to the King of England praying a repeal of the onerous measures. One of these special agents was Dr. Franklin of Pennsylvania.

1774.

On the 5th day of September, in this year, another Convention, or Congress, of Delegates from the American Colonies met at Philadelphia and resolved on non-commercial intercourse with Great Britain until all duties, imports, etc., had been repealed by the English Parliament.

1775.

In April of this year the skirmish between the British regulars and some of the Massachusetts militia occurred,

and in May the Congress again met. An army was now organized, Washington appointed Commander-In Chief, and \$3,000,000 of paper money issued; each Colony to pay its part in redeeming this currency. A general post office was established, and an address to the King and people of Great Britain was published. There was a second meeting of this Congress—in September—when a navy was organized, a treasury department created and a further issue of money made. The Colonies were now declared by England to be in a state of rebellion, and war measures were begun.

1776.

Prior to this time the political parties of our Colonies were the same as those of the mother country—Whig and Tory—and may be said to have been only hereditary likes and dislikes, having no importance so far as American interests were concerned, and can scarcely be dignified by the name of politics. Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, laid the basis for the future organization of parties when, on the 7th of June, of this year, he offered the resolution that,

“These United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.” On the 10th day of June a committee consisting of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman and Robert R. Livingston was appointed to draw up a Declaration of Independence, and nearly a month later, (July 4th), this masterpiece of Jefferson’s handiwork was promulgated to the world and the words Whig and Tory assumed a well-defined signifi-

cance when applied to American politics. The Whig was then a patriot and the Tory a traitor to his country.

On the 11th day of June (1776) a committee had been appointed to prepare articles of confederation. This committee was composed of one member from each colony. The report they submitted was deferred from the 20th of August, 1776, to the 7th of April,

1777,

and after much debate was adopted on the 15th day of November of the same year. The confederacy was to be styled "The United States of America," and was to be "a firm league of friendship" between the Colonies. It was next submitted to the States, and their Legislatures authorizing their Delegates in Congress to ratify it, the articles were ordered engrossed on the 26th day of June,

1778.

Virginia, Massachusetts Bay, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New York and Connecticut signed July 9th; Georgia, July 21st; North Carolina, July 24th; New Jersey, November 26th. In this year the first treaty of the United States with any foreign nation (that with France) was made. Delaware did not sign the league until February 22,

1779.

There being a conflict between the States and the governmental power as to which the Crown lands should vest in, Maryland refused to sign until this dispute was settled, which occurring in

1781.

She ratified the articles on the 1st day of March, of that year. There was no further change in the form of govern-

ment for some years, but the articles of confederation were found, after a short time, to be inadequate, and there was much concern and discussion in regard to these deficiencies, which were not to be remedied for several years.

1783.

In the month of June, of this year, a small body of mutineers from the Continental army surrounded and insulted the Congress then in session in Philadelphia. Failing to receive protection from the State executive—to whom they applied—the members removed first to Princeton, New Jersey, and later to Annapolis, the latter being a more convenient point. These circumstances led to the selection of a place for the permanent seat of government, or rather of two sites, for it is not generally known that one had been selected upon the Delaware and another upon the Potomac. The double choice was on account of sectional jealousy. In December,

1784,

It was resolved to appropriate a sum of money for the purchase of a district upon the banks of the Delaware, but as the assent of nine States was necessary for this purpose the Southern States succeeded in defeating the measure. Pennsylvania was now anxious for its establishment at Philadelphia again. New York and the Eastern States wished it located in New York and the Southern States desired it to be fixed on the Potomac. A majority could not agree at this session, and a coalition between the Southern members, a few of the Northern, and the friends of Philadelphia succeeded the next session in giving it to Philadelphia for ten years and to then transfer it finally to the Potomac. The time was fixed at ten years to enable a site to be selected and

government buildings completed for the various departments. In order to confer upon the general government additional powers and also to provide a Constitution, a convention gathered at Philadelphia May 14th,

1787.

Of this convention Washington was elected President. The speeches immediately preceding the convening of this convention, especially by the statesmen of Virginia, and the debates in the Assembly are unequalled for depth and sagacity. In the light of after events, some of the speakers seem to have been endowed with prophetic power, and the mass of the arguments bear a wonderful degree of political wisdom. During this convention our present Constitution, with the exception of the amendments, was adopted, and the operation of the government, as we now see it, was begun on the 30th day of April,

1789;

George Washington being on that day inaugurated first President of the United States. The first regularly constituted Congress of the United States had already met on the 4th of March of this year. Prior to this date—from the 5th of September, 1774, to the last date—there had been fifteen Presidents of the Continental and Confederation Congresses, in the order following:

- 1774. Peyton Randolph, Virginia, September 5; Henry Middleton, South Carolina, October 22.
- 1775. Peyton Randolph, Virginia, May 10; John Hancock, Massachusetts, May 24.
- 1777. Henry Laurens, South Carolina, November 1.
- 1778. John Jay, New York, December 10.
- 1779. Samuel Huntington, Connecticut, September 28.

- 1781. Thomas McKean, Delaware, July 10; John Hanson, Maryland, November 5.
- 1782. Elias Boudinot, New Jersey, November 4.
- 1783. Thomas Mifflin, Pennsylvania, November 3.
- 1784. Richard Henry Lee, Virginia, November 30.
- 1786. Nathaniel Gorham, Massachusetts, June 6.
- 1787. Arthur St. Clair, Pennsylvania, February 2.
- 1788. Cyrus Griffin, Virginia, January 22.

Thus we have the political affairs brought down in brief to the inauguration of George Washington and up to this time, as is seen, no disturbing questions had arisen upon which to base opposition parties. The old partisan spirit of the Whig, or patriot, against the Tory, or supporter of monarchical English rule in America, could not long continue, as the latter had either all fled the country or abandoned all show of opposition, and settled down to a tacit support of the new order of affairs. But, as hinted above, the very Declaration of Independence contained in it the seeds of a healthy antagonism that was to originate two parties.

This antagonism has so far served a beneficial purpose in so nearly evenly balancing the administration and opposition parties that defeat is almost certain to accrue from any gross breach of faith on the part of the Executive or Representative powers toward the people. This antagonistic spirit first showed itself when the question of the Union of the States was broached, one party taking the stand that a strong government was absolutely necessary; the other, that the rights of the States were sovereign and paramount to all other obligations. The first of these parties was known as that of the Strong Government Whigs; the other was known as the Particularist party or Particularist Whigs.

Some of the first party wanted an extremely strong cen-

tral government, modelled after that of England, only wanting, of course, in king and hereditary aristocracy. All of them desired the delegated powers of the general government to dominate those of the States, while the Particularists held that the central government, being the creation of the States, must yield to them in all matters of local government and authority; in other words, that within her own borders the State was supreme. This was the first division of the American people into political parties.

CHAPTER LXI.

POLITICAL HISTORY FROM 1788 TO 1815.

A FARCICAL POLITICAL CONTEST.—OPPOSING PARTIES.—FEDERALISTS AND ANTI-FEDERALISTS.—THE CONSTITUTION GOES INTO EFFECT.—GENERAL WASHINGTON INAUGURATED.—JOHN ADAMS VICE PRESIDENT.—A NOBLE CHARACTER.—NORTH CAROLINA AND RHODE ISLAND RATIFY.—MADISON JOINS THE OPPOSITION.—THE FIRST APPORTIONMENT OF REPRESENTATION.—VERMONT AND KENTUCKY ADMITTED INTO THE UNION.—WASHINGTON'S UNANIMOUS NOMINATION.—CONTEST BETWEEN FEDERALISTS AND REPUBLICANS FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.—JEFFERSON RETIRES FROM THE CABINET.—AN ABLE STATESMAN.—WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.—ADAMS AND JEFFERSON.—THE ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS.—THE KENTUCKY AND VIRGINIA RESOLUTIONS.—PARTY SPIRIT INCREASES.—SECOND CONTEST BETWEEN ADAMS AND JEFFERSON.—DEFECTS OF THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE.—MODE OF VOTING.—A TIE VOTE.—SEAT OF GOVERNMENT REMOVED TO WASHINGTON.—THE FIRST PARTY PLATFORM.—THE FIRST CAUCUS.—CONGRESSIONAL CONVENTIONS.—CHANGE IN ELECTORAL METHODS.—JEFFERSON'S SECOND ELECTION.—REPUBLICANS ADOPT THE NAME OF DEMOCRATS.—THE PEOPLE'S PARTY.—FEDERALIST DEFEATS.—OUR SECOND FOREIGN WAR.—THE HARTFORD CONVENTION.—ITS PRINCIPLES.—THE FIRST NATIONAL BANK BILL.

It was necessary that nine of the thirteen States should ratify the Constitution before the same should become binding upon any of them, and then it was to have no power over any of the others. Now began a fierce contest amongst political leaders, some for, and some against the ratification, and the Strong Government Whigs, or Broad Constructionists, under the leadership of Hamilton, Madison and others, assumed the title of Federals or Federalists. The Particularist Whigs, or Close Constructionists, followed the banner of Samuel Adams, James Mason, Patrick Henry and other States' Rights leaders, and were known as Anti-

Federalists. Washington, in whom the military spirit ever largely predominated, threw his over-powering weight in the scale, and decided the otherwise more than doubtful conflict in favor of the Federal party.

On the 2nd day of July, 1788, Congress was notified that the nine States necessary, had been secured, and accordingly the first Wednesday in March, of the succeeding year, was named as the day upon which the Constitution should go into effect. George Washington and John Adams were nominated for President and Vice-President by popular acclaim, and without opposition. With the calm nobility of character, for which he was conspicuous in all his actions, Washington made up his Cabinet from the leaders of the two parties, having no partisan rancor, and no doubt hoping to allay all political strife.

In 1789, North Carolina, which had rejected the Constitution, re-considered its action in November, 1789, and was followed by a similar action on the part of Rhode Island, in May, 1790. James Madison left the Federalists and went over to their enemies, but the former were successful in the election for members of the second Congress. Representation was now fixed at thirty-three thousand of population for each Congressional district. During the third Congress, Vermont and Kentucky were admitted to the sisterhood of States. Party bitterness increased continually, but in

1793

Washington was again nominated by the unanimous voice of the people for President. The Federalists nominated for Vice-President, John Adams, of Massachusetts, and their opponents, now known as Republicans, conferred the honor of a nomination for the same office on George Clinton, of New

York. Again victory perched upon the banners of the Federalists. In December of this year, Thomas Jefferson, probably the ablest statesman America has ever produced, retired from his position, in Washington's Cabinet, of Secretary of State, and devoted himself to planning the next political campaign. He was the leader of the Republicans, and the author of many of the ablest of political essays. In August,

1796,

Washington announced in his farewell address, his determination to retire from public life, and the now thoroughly organized Federal and Republican parties placed in the field their strongest men. John Adams and Thomas Pinckney, were the standard bearers of Federalism, and Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, the champions of Republicanism. On count, in the Electoral College, the votes were found to be: John Adams, 71; Thomas Jefferson, 69; Thomas Pinckney, 59; Aaron Burr, 30; Samuel Adams, 15; Oliver Ellsworth, 11; George Clinton, 7; John Jay, 5; James Iredell, 3; George Washington, 2; John Henry, 2; S. Johnson, 2, and Charles C. Pinckney, 1. And Adams was made President and Jefferson Vice-President. This showed an immense gain by the Republicans.

1798.

During this administration the "Alien and Sedition Law" was passed, conferring dangerous, tyrannical and excessive authority upon the President. This called out the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798; Jefferson being father of the former, and Madison of the latter. Party malice continued to increase, especially as the Federalists saw that their doctrines were becoming unpopular. In

1800

they nominated John Adams again for President, and C. C. Pinckney for Vice-President. The Republican candidates, nominated by a Congressional Convention held in Philadelphia, were Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, for President and Vice-President. The method pursued in the Electoral College at that time had even greater defects than that of the present day, though by either it is extremely easy for the will of the people to be nullified, and the candidate having the largest popular vote to be defeated.

Each elector was required to vote for two persons, and in the count, the one having the highest number of votes was declared President, and the one receiving the next highest became Vice-President. The folly of this mode became apparent when it was found that Jefferson had 73 votes, Burr 73, Adams 65 and Pinckney 64. The votes for Jefferson and Burr being a tie, as was to be expected when the contest was a party one, with two men on opposing tickets. The election went into the House of Representatives and gave rise to a great deal of strife and bitterness, almost leading to warfare. Congress met this year—November 17—at Washington, whither the seat of government had been removed the preceding summer.

Luckily the will of the people was carried out and on the thirty-sixth ballot in the House, that grand old father of the Democratic party, Thomas Jefferson, was declared President and Aaron Burr, Vice-President. Outside of the success of the Jeffersonian party and the triumph of Democracy over a thinly disguised attempt at an official aristocracy, this campaign was notable as the first in which a Platform was adopted and a nomination made by a Con-

gressional caucus, or convention. These were inventions of the Republicans. In

1804

the candidates of both parties were nominated by Congressional Conventions, the Federalists having borrowed this innovation of their foes. On the 25th day of September, of this year, in order to do away with the danger alluded to, in the case of the last election, an amendment to the Constitution was adopted requiring electors to ballot for President and Vice-President separately. Jefferson and Clinton were the Republican nominees this year and Charles C. Pinckney and Rufus King, those of the Federalists. Again the Republicans were successful and in

1805

they dropped that name and called themselves Democrats, a title which they have retained ever since, through every vicissitude of success and reverse, and to-day, as in 1805, we find them fighting the battles of the people against fraud, corruption, official aristocracy and every species of monopoly and misrule. The people had now become thoroughly imbued with Jefferson's ideas as to the Democratic simplicity that should pervade all the institutions of the young republic and in

1808

we find his Secretary of State, James Madison, the nominee of the Democratic party. George Clinton was named for the Vice-Presidency on this ticket, while the Federalists supported C. C. Pinckney for the chief executive office in the gift of the people. Madison and Clinton were elected by an overwhelming majority. In May,

1812,

a Congressional Convention re-nominated Madison for President and named John Langdon for Vice-President. The latter was obliged to decline the nomination on account of his great age, and Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts was put on the ticket for the second place.

So feeble had the once powerful Federalist party now become, that they did not dare the experiment of naming candidates in caucus, but in September a convention of all the elements opposed to Madison was held in New York City. Eleven States were represented and the delegates thus assembled put in nomination DeWitt Clinton and Jared Ingersoll, for President and Vice-President. Neither party offered a political platform, but went to the people on the merits of the Democratic party and the negative virtues of the opposition to it. The second of our foreign wars began in this administration and gave rise to the formation, in

1815,

of the first American Peace Party. A convention held at Hartford, in January, 1815, protested violently and in a slavish and unpatriotic manner against the conscription and draft of citizens. It contained the germs of secession and of the future Know Nothing and Abolition, or *Black* Republican parties, as it was at first known, to distinguish it from the original Republican (Democratic) party. Not only were there violent denunciations of the war, conscription, draft, enrollment of the militia, etc., but several amendments to the Constitution were proposed, of which the following is a brief summary of their substance:

Representation and direct taxation to be apportioned according to the number of *free* persons and apprentices,

(bound only for a term of years). Indians, slaves, etc., to be excluded from enumeration.

Two thirds of both Houses of Congress necessary for admission of new States.

No embargo on American vessels in U. S. ports for periods longer than sixty days.

Two-thirds of both Houses of Congress necessary to interdict foreign trade.

Two-thirds of both Houses of Congress necessary to declare war against foreign nations, except in cases of invasion.

Naturalized citizens to be ineligible as Congressmen or U. S. civil officers.

No person to be eligible to two Presidential terms.

Same State not to name the President twice in succession.

This was in reality about the principles of the bulk of the Federalist party. During this term of Madison, the bill establishing the first National bank was passed and received his signature. The first Internal Improvement Bill was also passed, but vetoed by him.

CHAPTER III.

POLITICAL HISTORY FROM 1815 TO 1844.

AN OVERWHELMING DEMOCRATIC SUCCESS.—MONROE'S SECOND ELECTION.—A WONDERFUL TRIUMPH.—MISSOURI BECOMES A STATE.—THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE MEASURES.—FOUR CANDIDATES IN THE FIELD.—THE CHOICE OF THE PEOPLE DEFEATED.—A SECOND CRISIS.—A CORRUPT COALITION.—NATIONAL CONVENTION SYSTEM ADOPTED.—INJUSTICE REBUKED.—JACKSON'S APPOINTMENTS.—A FALSE ACCUSATION.—THE NEW PARTY.—THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM.—PUBLIC MONEYS REMOVED.—CONGRESSIONAL PAIRING OFF INVENTED.—THE LOG CABIN AND HARD CIDER CAMPAIGN.—"TIPPECANOE AND TYLER TOO."—DEMAGOGICAL DEVICES.—A WHIG SUCCESS.—AN ABOLITIONIST CANDIDATE.—HARRISON'S DEATH IN OFFICE.—A NEW PARTY FORMING.—THE BUFFALO PLATFORM.—THE FIRST DARK HORSE.—A CLOSE RACE.—THE LIBERTY PARTY.—THE WAR WITH MEXICO.—TEXAS ANNEXED.—FATE OF THE WILMOT PROVISIO.—ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATION.

1816.

In 1816 the usual tactics of the opposing parties varied but little. The Democrats nominated James Monroe and Daniel D. Tompkins for first and second places on their ticket, while the Federalists named Rufus King for President, but did not concentrate on any one for Vice-President. So overwhelming was the success of the Democracy at this election, and so satisfactory was the administration of Monroe that in

1820

he had no opposition, but a single vote being cast against him in the Electoral College. Against Tompkins for Vice-President only fourteen votes were cast. In this year no nominations, nor enunciations of principles were made by

either party, the voice and votes of the people being unanimously in favor of Monroe. During his term of office Missouri became one of the States of the Union, its admission giving rise to the measures known as the "Missouri Compromise."

1824.

In 1824 we find four candidates in the field for President, viz.: Adrew Jackson, Democrat; John Quincy Adams, Federalist; Wm. H. Crawford, Democrat, and Henry Clay, Whig. For Vice-President we find electoral votes cast for the following persons: for John C. Calhoun 182 votes; for Nathan Sanford 30 votes; for Nathaniel Macon 24 votes; for Andrew Jackson 13 votes; for Martin VanBuren 9 votes; for Henry Clay 2 votes. All of the Presidential candidates were running as Republican, or Democratic candidates, but in 1824 both Mr. Clay and Mr. Adams figure as National Republicans, (Whigs.) Andrew Jackson received of the popular vote 155,872; of the electoral vote 99; John Quincy Adams received of the popular vote 105,321; of the electoral vote 84. Wm. H. Crawford received of the popular vote 44,282; of the electoral vote 41. Henry Clay received of the popular vote 46,587; of the electoral vote 37.

Owing to the want of a sufficient majority of the electoral vote, Jackson, who was plainly the choice of the people by a very large majority, was defeated. The election, for the second time in the history of our politics, was thrown into the House of Representatives and resulted in the making of John Quincy Adams and John C. Calhoun President and Vice-President of the United States.

The friends of Jackson always claimed, and there is great room for belief in the truth of the charge, that this re-

sult was brought about by a corrupt bargain between Clay and Adams. Political feeling between the parties was now intensely bitter. This campaign proved the end of the Congressional caucus system of nomination, and in

1828.

we find the National Convention system adopted. This was a move in the right direction and an immense improvement over the old plan.

In this year the National Republicans (Whigs) nominated John Quincy Adams and Richard Rush, while the Democracy named Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun. The head of the Democratic ticket received 178 electoral votes, while Mr. Adams got but 83, and thus the bargain of 1824 was rebuked and Jackson's claim to the former election vindicated.

Right here it may be well to explain a point always strongly urged against Jackson by his political opponents and those of the Democratic party, viz.: the replacing of Federal office holders by Democrats. Looking upon the seating of Adams as a fraud, he very rightly regarded all of his appointments as usurpations of his own privileges, and regarding the receiver in much the same light as the thief, made short work of their official existence. This is no doubt the true cause of the famous rotation in office and the cry that "to the victor belong the spoils."

1831.

The National Republicans held their convention this year in the month of December, at Baltimore, and put in nomination Henry Clay and John Sergeant. The Democrats named Andrew Jackson and John C. Calhoun. They declared in their platform against removal from office *for mere*

difference of political opinion. Both parties issued addresses (or, as we now call them, platforms) for the elucidation of their principles. This administration was chiefly remarkable for the removal of the public moneys from the United States Bank; the Nullification Ordinances of South Carolina and the appointment of Roger B. Taney to the Chief-Justiceship of the United States Supreme Court. In

1836

The Democratic National Convention met at Baltimore and nominated Martin VanBuren and R. M. Johnson. The Whigs chose as their candidates William Henry Harrison and Francis Granger. Again victory ranged itself with the Democrats. In this election W. P. Magnum received for President eleven electoral votes, Daniel Webster fourteen and Hugh L. White twenty-six. For Vice-President William Smith received twenty-three electoral votes and John Tyler forty-seven. During this administration the custom of Congressional "pairing off" was instituted. In

1840.

VanBuren was again the Democratic nominee for President. Baltimore was selected for holding their convention, and a platform of principles was published. No candidate for Vice-President was named by the convention, though several were put in nomination by the various delegates, but before the election came off, Johnson was tacitly accepted as the candidate.

The Whig Convention was held at Philadelphia, and Wm. Henry Harrison and John Tyler were nominated. This was a phenomenal campaign, and singularly enough found almost its parallel in 1848 when Taylor, another Whig candidate, fresh from his victorious career in Old Mexico,

swept the country. The campaign of 1840 was the first of American political victories brought about by puerile conceits. "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" was the rallying cry of the "Hard Cider and log Cabin" campaign, and the silliest of songs and demagogical devices carried the Whig candidate into the Presidential Chair by the astonishing electoral vote of 234 to 60. James G. Birney, of Michigan, the Liberty (Abolitionist) candidate, received of the popular vote 7,059; of the electoral vote none.

Just one month after his inauguration, (March 4, 1841), Harrison died and Tyler filled out his term of office as President. During this administration the Abolition party began to take shape; opposing slavery in all forms in which it could be constitutionally fought, and the Democracy becoming tainted with the spirit of Abolitionism, split into two factions; the free-soil portion coalescing with a certain section of the Whigs and the Abolitionists, forming the Liberty party, which assembled in convention, at Buffalo, in August, 1843, and announced its platform.

1844.

In May, 1844, the Democratic and Whig Convention met at Baltimore. Henry Clay and Theodore Frelinghuysen were the Whig nominees. In the Democratic Convention VanBuren was the strongest man, but the opposition to this candidate was sufficiently powerful to move and carry the nomination of James K. Polk, of Tennessee. Calhoun's friends led the opposition and can claim the honor of having been successful in inaugurating and playing the game now known as "bringing in a dark horse;" *i. e.* an unexpected or compromise candidate. George McDallas, of Pennsylvania, was the nominee for Vice-President.

The Abolitionists, or Liberty party put in nomination James G. Birney, of Michigan, who received of the popular vote 62,300; of the electoral vote nothing.

The platforms of the Whig and Democratic parties were both elaborate affairs, but the Democrats carried the country, though with much less than their usual majority. This was owing to several causes, amongst which were running an unknown man against so popular a candidate as Henry Clay, the defection of the free-soil Democrats and the specious bid made for popular favor by the Whig platform.

The war with Mexico, the annexation of Texas and the acquisition of other Mexican territory occurred during Polk's administration. The acquiring of this additional territory led to an increase in the anti-slavery agitation and the introduction of the celebrated Wilmot Proviso. This was, "that no portion of the territory acquired from Mexico should be open to the introduction of slavery." The fate of the measure is too well known to require comment here.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL HISTORY FROM 1844 TO 1864.

THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION OF 1848.—GENERAL TAYLOR NOMINATED BY THE WHIGS.—THE FREE-SOIL DEMOCRATS.—THE ABOLITIONIST NOMINEE.—SPARTAN HEROISM.—A GALLANT OLD HERO.—PERFIDY AVENGED.—DEAD AT THE WHITE HOUSE.—SCOTT AND GRAHAM.—ANOTHER DARK HORSE.—A GRAND DEMOCRATIC VICTORY.—THE KANSAS TROUBLES.—A PROMISCUOUS OPPOSITION.—THE NATIONAL AMERICANS.—THE KNOW-NOTHING SHIBBOLETH.—A MASTERLY INACTIVITY.—BUCK AND BRECK.—FREMONT'S CHEAP NOTORIETY.—A PATHFINDER BY PROXY.—HELPER'S IMPENDING CRISIS.—A FANATICAL FOOL.—JOHN BROWN'S PROTOTYPE.—A SERVILE INSURRECTION.—A RAT IN A HOLE.—THE CHARLESTON CONVENTION.—A STORMY SESSION.—SUICIDAL POLICY.—ADJOURNED TO BALTIMORE.—SECEEDING DELEGATIONS.—BUTLER, OF MASSACHUSETTS.—THE TWIN CONVENTIONS.—DUAL NOMINATIONS.—THE CONSTITUTIONAL UNION NOMINEES.—THREE PROBABILITIES.—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1864.—LINCOLN ASSASSINATED.—JOHN WILKES BOOTH.

1848.

On the 21st day of May, 1848, the Democratic National Convention met at Baltimore, and after making an unusually careful platform, nominated Lewis Cass, of Michigan, and Gen. William O. Butler of Kentucky. On the 8th day of June, the Whig Convention met at Philadelphia and also put forth an elaborate manifesto of principles. General Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, and Milliard Fillmore, of New York, were the nominees of the party. The Free-soil Democrats selected Utica, New York, for their meeting, and nominated Martin VanBuren, of New York, and Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, for candidates. Gerritt Smith, of New York, was the nominee of the Abolitionists.

The race was between the Democrats and Whigs and was

an exceedingly close one, but Gen. Taylor, fresh from the field of his fame at Buena Vista was rewarded by the admiring Americans with the highest office in their gift. His Spartan heroism and his invincible valor had so endeared him to the masses, that even the well-drilled phalanxes of the grandest political party the world ever saw, went over in numbers to the gallant old hero, and the Democracy was defeated.

It was a plain case of hero-worship, in which the bonds of party melted as wax before the martial ardor and love of bravery and pluck, that have ever distinguished American citizens. Thus, too, was avenged the perfidy of the preceding administration which had robbed him of all of his regular troops, only to make his victory at Buena Vista, with American volunteers, the brighter. Sixteen months after his inauguration he lay a corpse in the White House, at Washington, his brave and noble soul having answered on the 8th day of July, 1850, to the heavenly roll-call.

1852.

The election of Taylor had in nowise strengthened the Whig cause, but it had given them the idea that by the selection of another soldier they might repeat their success in the last campaign. When they met at Baltimore, in June, they therefore placed at the head of their ticket General Winfield Scott and named William A. Graham for Vice-President.

The Democrats who had held their Convention on the first day of June, in the same city, had nominated Franklin Pierce and William R. King, while the Free-soilers at Pittsburg, August 11, of this year, selected as their candidate John P. Hale and George W. Julian. Again the Dem-

ocrats had named an almost unknown man, while the Whigs had selected their most available candidate.

The result showed, however, that the star of their destiny had forever set, and we find that of the electoral vote they received less than fifty (42) while the Democrats carried 245. This stroke proved the dissolution of the Whig party, and so feeble had the other opponents of Democracy proved, that it seemed as if they would be left entirely without opposition.

The Kansas conflict which occurred during this administration excited to tenfold fury the anti-slavery partisans of the country, and they were now joined by the disappointed Whigs, the disgruntled Democrats (Free-soilers), and every other of the opposition elements. They pledged themselves to oppose the extension of slavery and named themselves the National Republican party. A new party, the National Americans (Know Nothings) sprang into existence and held a convention in February,

1856,

in Philadelphia, putting forth as their shibboleth that "America should be ruled by Americans" and nominating as their candidate Millard Fillmore and Andrew Jackson Donelson. The Whigs, in their Convention at Baltimore in September of this year, contented with a masterly inactivity, offered no candidates of their own, but recommended those of the American party. The Democrats met at Cincinnati in June and selected as their candidates James Buchanan and John C. Breckenridge.

The Republican Convention met at Philadelphia in June and nominated John C. Fremont and William L. Dayton as its candidates. Fremont — who had succeeded in marrying

the daughter of the great Missouri Senator, Thomas Benton, much against the latter's will—by utilizing the knowledge and experience of Kit Carson and other plains and mountain men had won considerable cheap popularity as “the Pathfinder,” and it was hoped by his party that with this notoriety and the slogan of “free men, free soil, Fremont,” they might be able to foist him into the Presidential office *a la* Harrison, but it proved a failure, and again the Democrats seated their man.

The vote secured by the opposition in this campaign—114 electoral votes against 174 of the Democrats—showed its rapidly growing power. The Kansas troubles continued and even increased in magnitude; Helper produced his “Impending Crisis” and war seemed inevitable. The idiotic old fanatic, John Brown, stimulated by reckless knaves and visionary fools in the East, conceived a raid on Virginia, and with a following of men as desperate and as foolish as himself actually stormed, or rather burglarized the United States armory at Harpers’ Ferry.

This raid was modelled on that of Brown’s prototype in the art inciting of servile insurrection—John A. Murrell—and its aims were almost identical. The slaves were to be aroused and armed, and the houses and families of the slave holders were to be given over to arson, pillage, outrage and murder. Luckily after a short career, in which robbery and murder played their part, these infamous wretches—part knaves and part fools—were cooped in an engine house where they eventually tamely submitted to capture, rather than make a bold dash for liberty and die like men.

In his work of murder, on the broad Kansas prairies, the hand of “old John Brown,” (or “Ossawatimie Brown,”) as his disciples loved to call him, had never been known to

falter, but the heroism of daring certain death was foreign to the fibre of his soul and, like a craven "rat in a hole," he submitted to capture and a well deserved felon's death on the scaffold.

1860.

In April, 1860, the Democratic leaders met in convention at Charleston, South Carolina. The Convention was called to order on the 23d of the month, but the balloting did not begin for more than a week thereafter (May 1st). As if bent on suicide, the party was torn by the wildest excitement and dissension, and after balloting for three entire days and finding it impossible to agree upon candidates the Convention adjourned to meet in Baltimore June 18, 1860. Stormy debates engaged the body until the 22d, when it was proposed to begin balloting.

Virginia now withdrew from the Convention and was followed by Maryland, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, California and Oregon. The delegates from Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas had been denied their places by the Committee on Credentials. In this state of affairs, when the ballot was called, Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts, retired and was followed by five other delegates.

Those remaining proceeded with the balloting and nominated Stephen A. Douglass for President. Senator Fitzpatrick was nominated for Vice-President, and declining the nomination, was succeeded by Herschel V. Johnson.

The National Democratic Convention, made up of the seceding delegates and those ruled out of the other Convention, met the same day and nominated John C. Breckinridge and Joseph Lane.

A Constitutional Union party, which met at Baltimore on

the 9th of May, 1860, had nominated John Bell and Edward Everett as its candidates.

The Republicans held their Convention in Chicago, May 16, 1860, and chose Abraham Lincoln and Hannibal Hamlin as its champions.

Owing to the excited state of public feeling, the foolish split in the Democratic party and the number of candidates in the field, three things were almost equally certain: first, that the fullest vote of the Republican party would be brought out; second, that its candidates would be elected; and third, that their election would be followed by the secession of most, if not all, of the Southern States. All of this actually occurred, and the war between the States, ending in the freeing of the slaves, followed. To follow out its years of battle, misery and destruction is no part of our intention.

1864. •

On the 7th day of June, 1864, Lincoln was re-nominated by the Republicans for President and Andrew Johnson was selected for Vice-President. Gen. George B. McClellan and George H. Pendleton were nominated by the Democrats, and the Republicans were again successful, holding, as they did, all the powers and patronage of the civil and military government, and unscrupulously using the same. On the 14th day of April, 1865, Lincoln was assassinated, in a private box in Ford's theatre, by John Wilkes Booth, an actor who had inherited the insanity as well as the genius of his distinguished father.

CHAPTER V.

POLITICAL HISTORY FROM 1864 TO 1881.

JOHNSON'S ADMINISTRATION.—JUDICIAL MURDER.—A REIGN OF TERROR.—MILITARY BASTILES.—SEWARD'S BOAST.—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1868.—REPUBLICAN TACTICS.—THE LIBERAL REPUBLICAN PARTY.—A FOOLISH ENDORSEMENT.—THE DEMOCRATIC STRAIGHT-OUTS.—GRANT AND WILSON.—WHISKY RINGS AND CREDIT MOBILIERS.—THE TEMPERANCE CANDIDATE.—THE GREENBACKERS.—THE ST. LOUIS CONVENTION IN 1876.—ELECTION OF TILDEN.—THEFT OF THE PRESIDENCY.—AN INFAMOUS COMMISSION.—PERJURED PARTISANS.—A MISERABLE IMPOSTER.—ARGUMENT TO ABOLISH THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE.—A NOBLE MAN.—BY FORCE OF ARMS.—REAPING ITS REWARD.—A PALTRY CREATURE.—DEAD SEA FRUITS.—STALWART AND HALF-BREED.—THE THIRD TERM DELEGATES.—CORRUPT BARGAINS.—A DEMOCRATIC MISTAKE.—GREENBACK CANDIDATES.—AN INTERESTING VOTE.—REPUBLICAN DISSENSIONS.—GUTEAU ASSASSINATES GARFIELD.—A TAILOR'S BLOCK.—STAR-ROUTE PROSECUTIONS.—A PERFECT FARCE.—THIEVES TURNED LOOSE.

The administration of Johnson, who filled out Lincoln's term was stained by the judicial murder of Mrs. Surratt, accused of complicity in the plans of Booth and his fellow conspirators. In extenuation of Johnson's non-interference to prevent this atrocity it must be remembered that the Republican party had established a reign of terror in which freedom of speech, action, and even worship had been denied to the citizen.

Military bastiles had been established all over the land, and one of Lincoln's Cabinet Officers had even so far forgotten what were the rights of an American freeman, that he boasted to an English officer that he could touch his bell and cause the arrest of any citizen in the land without legal

process or any explanation. Here we have the official autocracy of the old enemies of the Democratic party carried to the extreme of despotism.

1868.

On the 20th day of May, 1868, the Republican National Convention assembled in Chicago. Here Gen. Ulysses S. Grant and Schuyler Colfax were nominated. The Democratic Convention met in New York on the 3rd day of July, 1868, and placed in nomination, Horatio Seymour, of New York, and Gen. Frank P. Blair, of Missouri. Again the peculiar, if not creditable tactics of the Republicans were practiced, and their electoral vote was largely in excess of that of the Democrats.

1872.

Drunk with unlimited power and reckless in its use, the extreme infamy of some of the means and measures employed by the Republicans, disgusted the honorable men of the party, and they split from the main body. These were the better elements of Republicanism; the men who were not yet ready to behold the ruin of their country by the infamous corruption and shameless outrages of their comrades. These men organized the Liberal Republican party, and in Convention in Cincinnati, May 1st, 1872, nominated Horace Greeley and B. Gratz Brown.

The Democratic Convention met in Baltimore on the 9th day of June, and very foolishly endorsed the nominees of the Liberal Republican party, instead of presenting candidates of its own. After this action its folly was paralleled by the small gathering of Democrats at Louisville, who, on the 3rd of September, nominated Charles O'Connor and John Quincy Adams.

The regular Republican Convention, which met June 5th, at Philadelphia, re-nominated Grant for President and selected Henry Wilson for Vice-President.

James Black, running for President on a Temperance ticket, received 5,608 of the popular votes. N. P. Banks and Willis B. Machen and W. S. Groesbeck each received one electoral vote for Vice-President; T. E. Bramlette had three electoral votes for this office; George W. Julian five; John M. Palmer three, and A. H. Colquite five. The Republican ticket was elected by a large majority.

The administrations of Grant were more distinguished for corruption and jobbery than any others in the history of our country. Whiskey rings, naval rings, and Credit Mobiliers flourished with a criminal luxuriance hitherto unknown and made their unblushing boldness the byword of the world.

1876.

In this year a new party sprang into existence, the Greenback, or "fiat money" men. In convention at Indianapolis on the 17th day of May, 1876, they put in nomination for President and Vice-President Peter Cooper and Samuel F. Carey.

The Democratic Convention was held in St. Louis, in the month of June, and Samuel J. Tilden and Thomas A. Hendricks were nominated.

The Republicans met in convention at Cincinnati in June, and nominated Rutherford B. Hays and William A. Wheeler.

Notwithstanding the resort by the Republicans to unusual infamies to carry the election, no man on either side today doubts that the Democrats elected their candidates. Again for the third time, the matter could not be settled in the Electoral College, and the famous or rather infamous

“Electoral Commission” perpetrated upon the American people the miserable fraud of perjuring themselves, and seating in the Presidential chair, a creature that his partisans of that day now pronounce an impostor and a pretender.

The popular vote was: Hayes, 4,033,950; Tilden, 4,284,885; Cooper, 81,740; Green C. Smith (Prohibitor), 9,522.

To show how easily the will of the people is defeated by the machinery of the Electoral College and our present system of elections we will here give what was said on that occasion to be the electoral vote:

Hays' electoral vote	-	-	-	185
Tilden's “ “	-	-	-	184

Showing that with a popular majority of over 250,000 Tilden was beaten by one electoral vote.

The nobility of Samuel J. Tilden in magnanimously refusing to embroil the country in a civil war that he might recover the place so justly his due can never be sufficiently admired. The Republican party, with its habitual disregard for the rights of the people and the requirements of honor and honesty, did not scruple to intimate that, if necessary, it would seat its candidate by force of arms, though thousands of noble and honest men in its ranks declared that if the worst came they would willingly shoulder their muskets and oppose so flagrant an injustice. Reaping the reward due to their dishonor, the party leaders lived to regret their action and to despise the paltry creature that had profited by their baseness. The stolen fruit, instead of the peculiar sweetness supposed to flavor goods obtained in this manner, proved truly Sodom's apples,

“Dead sea fruits, that tempt the eye,
But turn to ashes on the lips.”

Dissensions sprang up; Stalwarts opposed Half-breeds and were in turn opposed by them with a bitterness born of intimate acquaintance. Hays, intent with miserly greed on accumulating money, did not have the time, even had he possessed the brain and management, to reconcile these discordant elements, and when he left the White House it is safe to say that those who had by treason and felony aided him to the Presidency breathed a sigh of ineffable relief.

1880.

In the Republican Convention which met at Chicago, on the 5th of June, 1880, a merciless battle of Stalwart against Half-breed was waged. The Stalwarts were almost to a man for Grant for a third term, but were unable to carry their point, and after much trickery and many corrupt and shameless bargains the nomination of James A. Garfield was effected. Chester Allan Arthur was given the second place on the ticket.

The Democratic Convention met at Cincinnati, in June, and nominated General W. S. Hancock and William H. English. This, to most thinking men, has always seemed a mistake, since they owed to their defrauded chief the vindication of a re-nomination and election. Be this as it may, the Republican ticket was elected.

James B. Weaver and B. J. Chambers were nominated by the Greenbackers.

The popular and electoral votes for the different candidates will prove of interest, especially as they show the inefficient workings of the electoral machinery which must be eventually changed, when its inadequacies are understood by the masses.

Garfield's popular vote 4,442,950; electoral vote 214.

Hancock's popular vote 4,442,035; electoral vote 155. Difference in popular vote 915; in electoral vote 59, thus making 915 popular majority, equal to 59 electoral votes. Of the popular vote at this election the Greenbackers got 306,867, and there were scattering 12,576.

The dissensions continued in the Republican camp, and the action of the crazy player Booth found its parallel in that of the Stalwart Republican, Charles J. Guiteau, who fired upon Garfield on the 2nd of July, 1881, causing his death from the wound September 20, 1881. This was carrying party correction to an extreme, even for the Republican party, and Guiteau was tried, convicted and hung for his crime. Arthur's chief claim to distinction appears to be the fit of his clothes and the failure of the Star Route prosecutions, begun under Garfield and ended in a perfect farce under his successor.

CHAPTER VI.

POLITICAL MEASURES—FEDERALISM.

MEN AND MEASURES.—THE FIRST POLITICAL DIFFERENCE.—ANTAGONISTIC MEASURES.—THE NATIONAL BANK.—A QUESTION OF SUPREMACY.—A DIFFERENCE OF OPINION.—HAMILTON AND JEFFERSON.—ARISTOCRACY VERSUS DEMOCRACY.—A NOBLE CHARACTER.—OPPOSING LEADERS.—THE ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS.—TYRANNICAL MEASURES.—THEIR SCOPE.—PENALTIES FOR THEIR NEGLECT.—FINE AND IMPRISONMENT.—OFFICIAL EGOTISM.—THEIR DATE OF EXPIRATION.—THE KENTUCKY AND VIRGINIA RESOLUTIONS.—STATES' RIGHTS DOCTRINE.—MADISON AND JEFFERSON.—THE FEDERAL LEAGUE DEFINED.—ASSUMED POWERS.—NO COMMON JUDGE.—THE PROPER REMEDY.—A FEDERALIST OPINION.—THE EVIL AGGRAVATED.—THE MEASURES FAILURES.—A FRANK CONFESSION.

Having given a condensed though clear idea of the party men, it may be well to mention, in brief, the measures upon which party lines were drawn. As already shown, the first truly distinctive difference was in regard to the powers the general government should possess. After this was adjusted, by the adoption of the Constitution, the Federalists began to devise schemes of internal taxation, in addition to import duties, etc. These measures were obstinately opposed by the Anti-Federalist partisans, who were jealous of any encroachments of the central government. This jealousy was rendered the more active and vigilant by the evident purpose of the Federalists to assert to the utmost the power of the government over the States.

The National Bank was another point of dissension, Mr. Madison plainly showing it to be unconstitutional; the power to grant charters of incorporation having been proposed and defeated in the Constitutional Convention.

Numerous and weighty arguments were adduced against and also in favor of such an institution, and the Federalists being in power at the time succeeded in passing the bill. Before signing it, however, the President obtained the written opinion of the members of his Cabinet; the Secretary of State (Jefferson) and Attorney General (Randolph) declaring it unconstitutional; while the Secretary of the Treasury (Hamilton) and Secretary of War (Knox) gave a contrary opinion.

The real leaders of the two parties were Hamilton and Jefferson; the former cold-blooded, selfish, a great stickler for official dignity and a man who did not scruple to declare that he believed it might be necessary for a strong, semi-monarchical form of government to be established in America. Jefferson, on the other hand, was a man of warm affections and always on the side of the people. Of superior mind and education, he looked down upon the cold selfish egotism of his more ignorant opponent with undisguised contempt and loathing. Jefferson was the incarnation of Democracy; Hamilton of a moneyed or official aristocracy.

George Washington, then President, endeavored to assuage the hostility existing between his Secretaries, but he might as well have endeavored to mix oil and water. His efforts were made with the candor, nobility and grandeur of that magnanimous spirit that Americans have never thoroughly appreciated, and less so now than ever, in this day of trivialities and petty politicians, but his usual success did not attend his efforts, and the party warfare increased in bitterness.

In their controversies Jefferson was ever open and honorable, while Hamilton was full of insinuations and bitterness.

It was this course that afterwards cost him his life, when he pressed his malice and his slanders too heavily upon that broken and dishonored man, Aaron Burr.

The "Alien and Sedition Laws" already alluded to were regarded as strictly Federal party measures to oppress and weaken the opposition, and they caused much bitter feeling. They conferred upon the President excessive and tyrannical powers and were exceedingly unwise and unjust measures. They authorized the President to order out of the country all such aliens as *he* should judge dangerous to its institutions, or its peace and safety. If he had reasonable grounds to suspect them of any treasonable designs he might order them to leave in a given time, (or in other words, their stay depended entirely upon his pleasure.)

If ordered to depart and afterward found at large without a license from the President to reside in the country, he was liable to imprisonment not exceeding three years, and was forever denied the privilege of becoming a citizen. Section 2d of this act was even more tyrannical than the 1st, and provided for an imprisonment of the contumacious during the President's pleasure. Section 3d required commanders of vessels to report all aliens on board their ships, stating their names, country, to whom they owed allegiance, their occupation, &c. Penalty in each case of failure to so report \$300.

The Sedition law was still more infamous, and provided that any persons combining or conspiring together to oppose any measure of the government of the United States, etc., might be punished by a fine not exceeding \$5,000, and by imprisonment not less than six months, nor more than five years. The 2d section of this law provided that any person who should write, print, utter, etc., any false,

scandalous or malicious writing against the Government, Congress or the President of the United States, with intent to defame them, or to bring them into disrepute, etc., should be fined not to exceed \$2,000, and imprisoned not to exceed two years.

These were regarded as gag laws and tending to suppress all freedom of speech and of the press, and to show what use was designed to be made of them they were *to continue in force no longer than the 3d day of March, 1801*, at which time Adams' (Federalist) administration would go out of power. It was not intended that the Republican (Democratic) administration, which they feared would succeed to power in 1801, (March 4,) should have any benefit of this Federalistic device.

These odious measures gave rise to the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798 and 1799. Mr. Madison, then in the Virginia Legislature, introduced (at the instance of Mr. Jefferson, so it is said,) resolutions adopted December 21, 1798. These resolutions declared in substance that the general government had no powers save those expressly given to it by the States; that in case of an undue or unwarrantable interference or dangerous exercise of Federal power, it was the right and duty of the States to resist it; that the alien and sedition laws were dangerous infractions of the Constitution; that the State of Virginia having expressly advocated and guaranteed freedom of speech and of the press, and that the United States had no authority to cancel or abridge this guarantee; that the State of Virginia declared the alien and sedition laws unconstitutional, and hoped and believed that the other States would join with her in maintaining unimpaired the rights and liberties of both the States and their people; that the Governor of the

State be desired to transmit a copy of these resolutions to the executive authorities of each of the other States, and also a copy to each of Virginia's Representatives and Senators in the National Congress.

Jefferson, himself, prepared the resolutions to be offered in the Kentucky Legislature, and they were made even stronger than those offered in the Virginia Assembly. The Union, they declared, was a compact between the States *as States*, and not between the people of the several States as one nation. Between parties to a compact having no common judge, each party has a right to judge *for itself* of infractions, grievances and redress. The alien and sedition acts are "not law, but altogether void, and of no force." "Where powers are assumed which have not been delegated, a nullification of the act is the right remedy, and every State has a natural right, in cases not within the compact, to nullify, *of their own authority*, all assumptions of power by others within their limits. John Quincy Adams himself says, in his written address in 1836, on the death of Madison: "The prosecutions under the Sedition Act did but aggravate the evil, which they were intended to repress." A very frank confession, indeed!

CHAPTER VII.

POLITICAL MEASURES OF WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATIONS.

MADISON'S RESOLUTION.—TONNAGE DUTIES AND IMPORTS.—CREATION OF THE DEPARTMENTS.—A QUESTION OF AUTHORITY.—THE OPPOSITION CARRY THE POINT.—SUPREME COURT JUSTICES APPOINTED.—THANKSGIVING DAY.—DEBTS OF THE UNITED STATES.—VALUE OF CONTINENTAL CURRENCY.—FUNDING PROPOSITIONS.—DUTIES INCREASED.—ASSUMPTION OF STATE DEBTS.—A FAIR EXCHANGE.—A JEALOUS PARTY.—CREATION AND CREATORS.—THE NATIONAL BANK BILL.—ITS ORIGIN.—MEETING OF THE SECOND CONGRESS.—REPRESENTATIVE APPORTIONMENT.—A CABINET COUNCIL.—NUMBER OF MEMBERS.—ST. CLAIR'S DEFEAT.—A WARM DEBATE.—AN INCREASE OF DUTIES.—PROTECTION APPEARS.—FISHING BOUNTIES.—OTHER MEASURES.—A NEW NAME.—AN UNFLAGGING CHAMPION.—A BITTER ENEMY.—POLITICAL ORGANS.—HAMILTON'S CARD.—A FLAT DENIAL.—A NEWSPAPER WAR.—THE WHISKY INSURRECTION QUELLED.—WASHINGTON'S SECOND TERM.—FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL.—THE FRENCH MINISTER.—A PRESUMPTIOUS INDIVIDUAL.—AN INTERESTING CHAPTER.—HOSTILE COMPLICATIONS.—A GRAND LEADER.

Mr. Madison offered a resolution in May, 1789, that certain duties ought to be levied on the tonnage of vessels and on goods, wares and merchandise imported into the United States, and a law was passed in which were enumerated a list of articles on which specific duties were imposed and others upon which the duty was to be *ad valorem*. The duties were to be ten per. cent less on all goods brought in in American vessels. The tonnage duty on American vessels was to be six cents; on foreign vessels, fifty cents a ton.

At this session the Department of State—then called Department of Foreign Affairs—the Treasury Department, and War Department were reorganized in accordance with

the new system of government. A discussion now arose between the Federal leaders and the opposition as to whether the President could remove these (Cabinet) officers without consent of the Senate. Hamilton, Sherman, Geary and others thought that the concurrence of the Senate should be necessary, but Madison, Baldwin and others opposed this view and carried their point, the vote being 34 to 20 in their favor.

At this session the Judiciary Department was established. John Rutledge, South Carolina; James Wilson, Pennsylvania; William Cushing, Massachusetts; Robert Harrison, Maryland, and John Blair, Virginia, were appointed Associate Justices and John Jay, New York, Chief Justice. The first constitutional amendments—twelve in number—were proposed at this session, and ten of them were adopted by the States. Before the adjournment—29th, September—the President was requested by Congress to appoint a day of public thanksgiving and prayer for the many and signal favors of Providence.

At this time the foreign debt was \$11,710,378; the domestic debt was \$42,414,085. Continental money was worth from one-eighth to one-sixth its face. It was also proposed that the government adopt the various State debts, which amounted to \$25,000,000. Many propositions were made for funding and paying these debts. An increase of import duties on wines, spirits, tea and coffee and an excise tax on distilled domestic spirits. Says Judge Marshall, the discussion of these measures caused the first systematic opposition to the principles on which the affairs of the Union were administered.

The assumption of the State debts was carried by a trade between Northern and Southern members, the former agree-

ing to fix the seat of government on the Potomac, if the latter would vote for the assumption. The opposition of the Anti-Federalists to the financial measures of the government arose from their jealousy of internal taxation for general government purposes, they looking upon it as an assumption of power by the creation to regulate the affairs of its creators. The bill for increase of duties and taxing domestic liquors passed at the next session of this Congress, (begun December 6, 1790). The vote was 35 to 21.

The National Bank Bill came up at this session, and after a stormy debate was passed by a vote of 39 to 20. Nearly all of the Southern members opposed its passage. The capital stock of the bank was to be \$10,000,000; \$2,000,000, of which were to be subscribed by the government; the rest by individuals. The shares were 25,000 in number; their par value \$400 each, and no individual, firm, partnership, or corporation was allowed to hold more than 1000 shares. No loan exceeding \$50,000 could be made to any State; to the United States no loan exceeding \$100,000, could be made. The charter should expire in twenty years.

On the 26th of October, 1791, the second Congress met. In the House the administration majority was considerably reduced by the election which had taken place. A disagreement on apportionment having occurred, the President consulted the members of his Cabinet, this time accepting the opinions of Jefferson and Randolph. At this session the apportionment was fixed at 33,000, (fractions above this number to count as nothing), for Representatives. This made the number of members in the House 105.

The President communicated to Congress the news of St. Clair's defeat, and a bill for a vigorous prosecution of the

war against the Northwestern Indians was introduced. This provoked a warm debate, and the Secretary of the Treasury being called on to report feasible methods of raising the means for meeting the war expenses, recommended an increase of duties. The duty on domestic spirits was somewhat reduced, owing to its unpopularity, but that on imported liquors was increased. By a new tariff act, a discrimination in favor of some articles was made to encourage their home manufacture.

Bounty laws for the encouragement of fishing, making bounties payable to fishermen and owners of fishing vessels; bills for the establishment of a uniform militia system; authorizing the President to call out the militia in case of insurrection or invasion; for establishing a mint and regulating coinage; for reorganizing the postal department; for regulating Presidential elections, and fixing succession in cases of vacancies in office of President and Vice-President, were passed at this session.

The Jeffersonian party now took the name of Republicans, and the antagonism between them and the Federalists increased. Jefferson's zeal in behalf of popular rights never flagged. No attempt at encroachment upon them, however well veiled, ever escaped his eagle eye. His ablest opponent, Hamilton, left no means untried to foist his peculiar beliefs upon the people, but notwithstanding his genius and his power, he continually lost ground in the contest with Jefferson. Then as now, each party had its official organs. Fenno's "United States Gazette," published at Philadelphia, was Hamilton's organ; the "National Gazette," edited by Freneau, was the organ of the opposition.

Through these mediums the leaders of the two parties assailed the conduct of government and opposition in a

series of essays, that for deep reasoning, clear presentation of facts and ideas, and intense bitterness, have seldom, if ever, been equalled in political writings. Stung beyond endurance by these phillipics, Hamilton wrote a severe article, signing it "An American," in which he accused the Secretary of State, (Mr. Jefferson,) with holding office under the administration, and at the same time establishing an organ to abuse and villify it. This, Freneau flatly denied in an able editorial, and quite a newspaper war prevailed for a time, Hamilton eventually being silenced. Notwithstanding Washington's earnest endeavors to heal the breach between Jefferson and Hamilton, he never succeeded in effecting it.

The opposition to the tax on domestic liquors having become exceedingly violent, a force of 15,000 men was raised to quell this riotous and insurrectionary spirit, after other measures had long been tried in vain. This was effected in the summer of 1794, but little blood having been shed in effecting its suppression. Washington's second election occurred in 1792. He had thought of retiring to Mount Vernon, but owing to the unsettled condition of the country, Federalists and Republicans, alike, joined in insisting that he should again take the helm of the ship of state. In 1793, Jefferson retired from the Cabinet to organize the forces of the Republicans for the next campaign, it being plain to every one that no amount of persuasion would induce Washington to accept a third term.

During Washington's second term of office, fugitive slave and criminal requisition acts were passed, though the former were evaded by the officials of many of the free States. A decision by the Supreme Court also decided that a State might be sued by a citizen of another State. The

establishment of a Republic in France and the war between that country and Great Britain, very greatly complicated our foreign relations, though a proclamation of neutrality was promptly issued. A minister, (Edmond C. Genet,) was received from the French Republic, whose acts were exceedingly incautious and imprudent. Presuming upon the aid that his country had extended to the rebellious colonies, he consulted neither the dictates of decency, prudence nor international law, and caused Great Britain to assume quite a belligerent attitude towards the United States.

It is an interesting chapter of American history and American politics, but it is one, which, if properly considered, would require vastly more space than we could here give it, hence we have but briefly alluded to it. This complication happened in an unfortunate hour for the young Republic, as we were looking for war with the Creek and Cherokee Indians, probably with Spain, were denied the navigation of the Mississippi river, our seamen were being impressed by British men-of-war, and captured and enslaved by Algerine pirates. Thus opened the second term of Washington's administration, and well for the people was it that so brave a heart and cool a head presided over their destinies.

CHAPTER VIII.

POLITICAL MEASURES—DEMOCRACY.

THE CONGRESS OF 1793.—AN OPPOSITION MAJORITY.—A STRICT NEUTRALITY ADVISED.—THE PROPER INDIAN POLICY.—FOREIGN RESTRICTIONS.—JEFFERSON'S RESIGNATION.—THE RETALIATING DUTIES DEBATE.—ABLE POLITICAL PAPERS.—THE ALGERINE PIRATES.—A STRONG NAVY RECOMMENDED.—A CHEAPER PLAN.—A RIDICULOUS IDEA.—AMERICAN VESSELS SEIZED.—LORD DORCHESTER'S SPEECH.—BRITISH ORDERS MODIFIED.—INDIAN HOSTILITIES.—JAY'S MISSION.—A SINKING FUND ESTABLISHED.—THE ENGLISH TREATY.—JAY BURNED IN EFFIGY.—TREATY RATIFIED.—AN OPEN RUPTURE.—WASHINGTON'S FIRMNESS.—FRENCH COMPLICATIONS.—AN UNJUST POSITION.—SAFETY TO NEUTRALS.—BROKEN PROMISES.—MONROE RECALLED.—WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS.—FALSE IDEAS.—A SLIGHT BESEMBLANCE.—A BITTER CONTEST.—ADAMS ELECTED.—WASHINGTON RETIRES.—AT MOUNT VERNON.—HIS SUCCESS AS A STATESMAN.—LEE'S EULOGY.

When Congress assembled in 1793 it was found that the opposition had a decided majority in the House, and its candidate for Speaker, Frederick A. Muhlenburg, Pennsylvania, was elected over Theodore Ludwick, Massachusetts, the Federal candidate. In his message to Congress, Washington urged the enforcement of a strict neutrality and the placing of the country in a complete condition of defense. He also advised a humane treatment of the Indians, and the gradual extinction of the public debt. Commercial matters and the restrictions placed by foreign nations on our trade and commerce largely engaged the attention of the National Legislature.

On the 31st day of December, 1793, Jefferson resigned his position, Randolph being appointed in his place, William Bradford, Pennsylvania, succeeding to the post of Attorney

General. An able debate in regard to retaliatory duties upon British productions, took place between Mr. Madison and Mr. Smith of South Carolina; the former advocating such duties, the latter opposing them. Madison's speeches upon this subject are masterpieces of argument in regard to political economy, and should be read by all who contemplate a political career.

It was proposed in the House that a naval armament sufficient to protect American commerce against the Algerine pirates should be provided. The building of six frigates, four of fifty-four guns and two of thirty-six, was recommended. This was opposed by some who considered it cheaper, if not more honorable, to purchase a peace with these pirates, while others made the ridiculous proposal that the navy of some foreign nation be paid to protect our commerce. The original bill, after considerable discussion, was finally passed.

Under the British orders of the 8th of June, 1793, and the 6th of November, of the same year, American merchantmen engaged in the French West India trade, were seized and carried into British ports, and some of them there condemned. On the 10th of February, 1794, the war prospect was aggravated by a speech of Lord Dorchester to the Western Indians, in which he alluded to the probability of a war. Retaliatory measures were begun, when Mr. Pinckney, American Minister at London, notified the President, that by an order issued January 8, 1794, the preceding orders had been greatly modified.

For a short time only did this information quiet the feelings of the people who had been outraged by the arbitrary measures of England. The Indian hostilities, presumably excited by British partisans, had been checked by the over-

throw of the banded Northwestern tribes by General Wayne, and the English government hastened to disown any connection with them. Mr. Jay was now sent upon a diplomatic mission to England to see if some arrangement between the two nations could not be consummated.

A plan to establish a sinking fund of proceeds of sales of public lands, surplus revenues, bank dividends &c., was agreed upon, and by it the public debt was finally extinguished. On the 7th of March, 1795, "a treaty of amity, commerce and navigation," which had been concluded by Mr. Jay and the English Minister, was forwarded to the President. This treaty was, on the whole, more satisfactory than had been expected. Indemnity for illegal capture of American property, surrender of the Western military posts on June 1, 1796, by the British and compensation for losses occasioned British subjects by State Laws obstructing the collection of their debts, were the principal features of the treaty. Its restrictions upon American commerce and shipping interests provoked a storm of fury, and Mr. Jay was burned in effigy in Boston and Philadelphia. The treaty, with slight modification, was eventually ratified.

The first outright conflict of the President and the House of Representatives was brought about by this treaty, or rather grew out of it. Edmund Livingstone, of New York, moved a resolution that the President be requested to lay before the House a copy of his instructions to Mr. Jay, and the correspondence and other documents called forth by the treaty. The debate upon this resolution occupied many days, and was finally carried by a vote of 62 to 37. Believing it his duty to refuse this call upon him since, the House had no authority in the making of treaties, the President returned his answer declining to comply with the request.

This answer provoked a heated discussion in the House; many of the speeches exhibiting an eloquence almost unequalled. The adoption of the treaty carried by the deciding vote of the chairman. The French directory, upon news of the ratification of the treaty, recalled their Minister, declaring that by its adoption the treaty with France had been annulled, and announcing that retaliatory measures would be taken. By the treaty, British goods in American vessels were secure, while French goods in American vessels were not, but against this the French had no right to complain, since by their Convention decree of May, 1793, they had captured and condemned some fifty American vessels for carrying British goods.

France succeeded in August, 1796, in effecting an alliance with Spain, the two joining to insure "safety to the neutral flag." Pretending to have been unfairly treated by America, in her treaty with England, Spain refused to give up her ports on the Mississippi river, as she had agreed, or to run out the southern boundary. An effort was also made by Spain to detach the people of the West from the Union and to form a separate Spanish empire with full control of the Mississippi. The President, not fully satisfied with the action of Mr. Monroe, then Minister to France, recalled him and appointed Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, South Carolina, to succeed him, on the 9th of September, 1796.

Notwithstanding the stormy nature of affairs, Washington determined not to accept another term of the Presidency, and announced this determination in a farewell address, dated September 16, 1796. Some have attributed to Hamilton the authorship of this address, but Mr. Jay, who was in a position to know, clearly disposes of this fiction, in a letter which appeared in "Nile's Register" October 21, 1826.

Soon after the death of Madison the authorship was attributed to him by several anonymous newspaper scribblers.

The only foundation for these reports was the fact that in a letter to Mr. Madison, dated May 20, 1792, Washington, wishing to decline a second term, asked Madison to prepare a valedictory address, and gave him the points he wished embraced in it. The draft prepared by Mr. Madison was able and eloquent, and was probably consulted by General Washington in the preparation of his address. The resemblance between the two was very slight, Washington's being four times as long as the one prepared by Mr. Madison.

Washington positively declined another re-election; and the Federalists now concentrated upon John Adams as their candidate for the Presidency. Of course the Republicans selected Thomas Jefferson, their ablest leader, and the contest was a bitter one. On the 8th day of February the electoral votes were counted and found to be Adams 71; Jefferson 69; Thomas Pinckney, for Vice-President 59; Aaron Burr 30; Samuel Adams 15; Oliver Elsworth 11; scattering 22, (names given elsewhere). The old rule obtaining, Adams was declared President and Jefferson Vice-President. On the 3d day of March, 1797, Washington's term of office expired and that hero, sage, patriot, statesman and soldier retired like another Cincinnatus to the peaceful seclusion of his farm.

Gracing with his presence the inauguration of his successor March 4, 1797, he departed the next day for his estate of Mount Vernon. During his two administrations measures looking to the restoration of the public credit, to the formation of the various departments, to the preservation of peace both foreign and domestic, to the formation of

treaties with all nations but France, and many other important measures had been conceived and executed and he had indeed proved that he well deserved that noble encomium of Lee, "First in war, first in peace and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

In all the pages of history, search as we may, no grander character appears than that of this Cincinnatus of the Western world, to whom Byron pays immortal tribute, in connection with the undying fame of Epaminondas:

"Great men have always scorn'd great recompenses.
Epaminondas saved his Thebes and died,
Not leaving even funeral expenses;
George Washington had thanks and nought beside,
Except the all cloudless glory (which few men's is)
To free his country—"

Noble, serene and simple, his character challenges ancient and modern history, song and fable, to produce its counterpart.

CHAPTER IX.

POLITICAL MEASURES—FOREIGN DIFFICULTIES.

THE NAVY DEPARTMENT CREATED.—THE FIRST SECRETARY.—A SPECIAL SESSION.—PRIVATEERING SCHEMES.—A MILITIA ORGANIZED.—THREE FRIGATES COMMISSIONED.—THE STAMP ACT.—AN ODISIOUS MEASURE.—EMBASSADORS TO FRANCE.—MONEY DEMANDED.—INJUDICIOUS LEGISLATION.—POLITICAL NEWSPAPERS.—THE AURORA AND OTHERS.—THE FRIES REBELLION.—THE SIXTH CONGRESS.—DEATH OF WASHINGTON.—FEDERALIST DISSENSIONS.—TROUBLE IN ADAMS' CABINET.—THE BRITISH FACTION.—HAMILTON'S INTRIGUES.—THE RE-ORGANIZATION ACT.—PARTISAN APPOINTMENTS.—A TIE VOTE.—THE ELECTION IN THE HOUSE.—JEFFERSON ELECTED PRESIDENT.—FEDERAL INTRIGUES.—A SECOND CATALINE.—A COLD-BLOODED CONSPIRATOR.—THE TWELFTH AMENDMENT.—JEFFERSON'S INAUGURATION.—A MODEL ADDRESS.—DEMOCRACY'S FIRST TRIUMPH.—A FALSE ACCUSATION.—ADAMS' ABUSE OF POWER.—THE MIDNIGHT APPOINTMENTS.—THE RIGHTS OF THE MAJORITY.—A FAMOUS PHRASE.—AN HONEST DEFENCE.—ABUSES RECTIFIED.—PROMISES WELL KEPT.

In the second year of Adams' administration, the Navy Department was created, the position of Secretary, first offered to and declined by George Cabot, Massachusetts, being given to Benjamin Stoddart, Maryland. Fearing war with France on account of her seizure of American vessels carrying British goods—a direct violation of her treaty with the United States—Adams called a session of Congress May 15, 1797. Acts were passed to prevent Americans engaging in privateering schemes against vessels of nations with whom we were at peace. The militia, to the number of 80,000 men, was to be organized and in readiness to march at any time.

The President was authorized to cause three frigates to be put into commission, should he deem it expedient.

Duties were levied on "stamped vellum, parchment and paper." A certificate of naturalization was taxed \$5; a lawyer's licence \$10; all papers bearing seal of the United States \$4, &c. These stamp duties were peculiarly obnoxious to the Americans, as may be readily conceived. Envoys were appointed to France to endeavor to bring about amicable relations. To these envoys the French ministers did not disguise the fact that money would be necessary to *buy* advantageous terms. The negotiations amounted to nothing, and great preparations were made for war.

So judiciously had the administration party acted from the time of Adams' inauguration that it had secured a good working majority in both Houses, and was steadily gaining a popularity with the people when some of its partisans originated and passed the notorious Alien and Sedition Laws, whose tenor and effect has been already described. The opportunity thus afforded to the Republicans was eagerly seized by Jefferson, Madison and others, and a complete revulsion of popular opinion was produced. The Federal party had too soon unmasked its unwarrantable and tyrannical interference with the freedom of speech and action.

In his speech to Congress, (December 3, 1798,) Mr. Adams had declared that it would be a national humiliation to appoint another Minister to France unless the latter should take the initiatory steps by inviting one. Induced probably by the war measures of this and the preceding Congress, France indicated a desire to treat on more reasonable grounds than she had before offered, and Mr. Adams, notwithstanding his public declaration, appointed three envoys to the French Republic.

This precipitate eagerness to treat surprised and disgusted not only the opposition but also many of the President's

warmest supporters. He did not even consult his Cabinet or friends in this movement, and the breach between him and these parties was never entirely healed. The mission ended in securing a favorable treaty with France, and soon after Congress met at Washington on the 17th day of November, 1800. Mr. Davie returned to America with the new treaty, which was laid before the Senate December 15th, of this year. The treaty, with two amendments, was finally ratified by France and the United States.

A chapter on newspapers, their uses and abuses as political instruments, might here be given did our space permit; for the "Aurora," "The Examiner," the "Prospect Before Us," the "American Annual Register," "Porcupine's Gazette" and others of that time certainly vied with any of to-day in vituperative capacity. The Fries rebellion, in Pennsylvania, a resistance to the tax **on lands and houses**, occurred and was suppressed in the early part of 1797. All of those taken and convicted were pardoned by the President. The VIth Congress which met in December, 1799, showed an administration majority in the House of 44 to 38. Early during the session came the sad news that the sublime and incorruptible patriot and hero, George Washington, had died on the 14th day of December, 1799. Appropriate resolutions in both Houses attested the general grief of the nation.

The internal dissensions of the Federalists greatly alarmed that party. Mr. Pickering and Mr. McHenry, Secretaries of State and War, were requested by Mr. Adams to resign. The latter promptly did so, but the former waited until he was dismissed. John Marshall, Virginia, and Samuel Dexter, Massachusetts, were given their places. The Federal opposition was called by Mr. Adams the British

faction. Hamilton, ever ready for intrigue and bitterness, came out in a pamphlet showing the superior qualities of C. C. Pinckney over those of Mr. Adams, and advocated his election to the Presidency.

The re-organization act by which the thirteen judicial districts were increased to twenty-three, was approved February 13th, 1801. By this act a large number of judges, marshals, attorneys and other court officers were created, and Adams hastened to appoint to these places administration Federalists. This was looked upon as a measure designed to aid in his re-election to office, and has always been condemned by fair-minded men.

In the next election Jefferson and Burr each received 73 votes, making, under the system then in vogue, a tie; Adams received 65 and Pinckney 64. John Jay received one vote. The election, by the tie, was thrown into the House of Representatives, and it was only on the 36th ballot that the will of the people was finally declared and Jefferson pronounced President. The obstruction to the popular voice was produced by the Federalists, some of whom thought Burr a less dangerous opponent than Jefferson.

Though a bitter measure to Hamilton, he felt constrained to recommend the election of Jefferson in preference to that of Burr, and, after showing **him** superior in everything, especially in character, honor and honesty, he says of the latter, "Every step of his career proves that he has formed himself on the model of Cataline; and he is too cold-blooded and determined a conspirator ever to change his plan." His recommendation of Jefferson was not that he hated him the less, but Burr the more. The difficulties and apparent dangers attending this election led to its change by the adoption of the 12th Amendment to the Con-

stitution. Jefferson, in a letter to Monroe, says that he was approached five times during the balloting, but declared to the Federalists that he would make no bargain for the Presidency.

On the 4th of March, 1801, Jefferson was inaugurated and his address on that occasion is a model of manly fairness, generosity, good sense and irreproachable patriotism. In it there was nothing of malice, bitterness or injustice, and **his subsequent course fully** justified the beliefs and confidence which his address inspired. It was the first Democratic Presidential oration, and was full of candor and wisdom. The Secretaries of the Treasury and the Navy, (Samuel Dexter and Benjamin Stoddart) appointees of Mr. Adams, were retained in Jefferson's Cabinet until January, 1802, when Albert Gallatin and Robert Smith replaced them.

An accusation was speedily brought forward by the Federalists that Jefferson had unduly used his power to eject members of **their party** from office, in order to replace them with Republicans, but this was a false and slanderous assertion, based on his rectification of Adams' abuse of the appointing power just as he was leaving the Presidential Chair. These ejectments he justified, in an answer to the address of some New Haven merchants, in a manner that conclusively stopped the clamor of the opposition. He showed that, at the time when by their votes the people had expressed their disregard of Federalist doctrines, the offices were filled with the officials of that party, and that certainly the majority had a right to some of their offices.

In this answer occurs that famous sentence in regard to office-holders that has been so often and so incorrectly quoted. Speaking of vacancies in office, he says: "*Those*

by death are few, by resignation none! Can any other mode than of removal be proposed? This is a painful office, but it is made my duty and I meet it as such. I proceed in the operation with deliberation and inquiry, that it may injure the best men least and effect the purposes of justice and public utility with the least private distress; that it may be thrown as much as possible on delinquency, on opposition, on intolerance, on anti-revolutionary adherence to our enemies.” * * * “It would have been to me a circumstance of great relief had I found a moderate participation of office in the hands of the majority (Republicans). I would gladly have left to time and accident to raise them to their just share. But their total exclusion calls for prompter corrections. I shall correct the procedure; but that done, return with joy to that state of things when the only questions concerning a candidate shall be, ‘Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the Constitution?’” Certainly this was a fair and honest defense of his actions.

He says that “Mr. Adams’ last appointments, when he knew he was naming aids and counsellors for me, and not for himself, I set aside as far as depends upon me. Officers who have been guilty of gross abuses of office, such as marshals packing juries, etc., I shall now remove, as my predecessors ought in justice to have done. * * * The right of opinion shall suffer no invasion from me. Those who have acted well have nothing to fear, however they may have differed from me in opinion.” This was the tenor of his expressions to all, and proved the basis of his future actions.

CHAPTER X.

POLITICAL MEASURES—TRIUMPH OF THE DEMOCRACY.

THE SEVENTH CONGRESS.—THE ADMINISTRATION MAJORITY.—THE WRITTEN MESSAGE.—NATURALIZATION LAWS AMENDED.—A SINKING FUND PERFECTED.—THE FIRST SLAVE TRADE ACTS.—SPAIN'S SECRET TREATY.—LOUISIANA CEDED TO FRANCE.—ABLE DIPLOMACY.—THE FEDERALISTS CHECKMATED.—THE ACQUISITION OF LOUISIANA.—DISGUSTED FEDERALISTS.—THE EASTERN EMPIRE.—NAPOLEON'S PREDICTION.—INCREASE OF ADMINISTRATION MAJORITY.—JEFFERSON RE-ELECTED.—THE FRENCH SPOILIATION BILL.—THE EMBARGO ACT.—A CHANGE OF NAME.—A PARTY FACTION.—THE BREACH CEMENTED.—A STORMY CLOSE.—BRITISH TREATY REJECTED.—RIGHT OF SEARCH DENIED.—THE CHESAPEAKE FIRED ON.—A BRILLIANT AND SUCCESSFUL ADMINISTRATION.—MADISON ELECTED PRESIDENT.—A SKILFUL GAME.—NON-INTERCOURSE DECLARED.—AMERICAN MINISTER TO ENGLAND RECALLED.—WAR WITH ENGLAND DECLARED.—DEFEAT OF THE NATIONAL BANK.—A GRAND ORATOR.—THE ERA OF STATESMEN.—THE CLINTONIAN DEMOCRACY.—MADISON RE-ELECTED.—THE WAR OF 1812.—EASTERN OPPOSITION.—INFAMOUS TRAITORS.—CONNECTICUT BLUE LIGHTS.—THE HARTFORD CONVENTION.—TREATY OF GHENT.—POSTAGE REDUCED.—MONROE ELECTED PRESIDENT.—STATES ADMITTED.—THE MONROE DOCTRINE.—A UNANIMOUS CHOICE.

In the VIIth Congress the administration (Republican) party had a majority. It was Jefferson who established, at this session, the sending of a written message to Congress, instead of delivering it orally. This was a very useful innovation, and has ever since been continued. The naturalization laws were changed, making only five years residence necessary, instead of fourteen, as was at first the requirement. Jefferson's recommendation of the setting aside annually of \$7,300,000, was the organization of the first sinking fund for the payment of the public debt. The first

slave trade law was passed at this session. This was not the first Congressional agitation in regard to the slave trade ; the presentation of a petition from Pennsylvania in 1793, to abolish it, being the first measure.

In 1802 the United States learned that Spain had, in 1800, secretly ceded her territory of Louisiana to France. This was discovered by the rescinding, in October, 1802, of Spain's right of American use of New Orleans, as a port of deposit. Jefferson wisely determined to play the friendship and neutrality of the United States against this secret proceeding, and instructed Livingston, our Minister to France, to negotiate for Louisiana and the Floridas. It was a mistaken supposition that Spain had also granted the latter to France.

The Federalists introduced resolutions asking for full information in regard to these proceedings, but Jefferson succeeded in checkmating them, and pushed through his negotiations, sending Monroe to Livingston's aid. In April, 1803, the treaty was effected, and laid before the Senate in October. The Federalists set up a howl of dismay at the acquisition of Louisiana, fearing that it would give the South and West too great a balance in the government. They even talked of establishing an Eastern Empire if States west of the Mississippi were admitted.

\$12,000,000 was the price paid for this splendid acquisition, a paltry sum, indeed, compared with the importance of the purchase. Napoleon's words were oracular when he said of the purchase, that "It strengthens forever the power of the United States, and will give to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride." So popular with the people was this stroke of Jefferson's, that there was a great increase in the administration majorities. 24 to

7 was the Senate vote in favor of ratification, and 90 to 25 that of the House in its favor.

The French Spoliation Bill grew out of the reservation by the United States of \$4,000,000 of the treaty money for French assaults upon and damages to American commerce. In 1804 Jefferson and Clinton were the candidates put forward by the Republicans; C. C. Pinckney and Rufus King, by the Federalists. The Republican majority was an immense one. The Embargo Act, passed in view of the acts of England and France, which were about to destroy American commerce, proved ineffectual, and were repealed in March, 1809.

The change of party name from Republican to Democrat, occurred in 1805, as has already been stated. At the outset it had been the intention of the leaders of the party to call it the Democratic-Republican, as the Federalists contemplated using the name Federal-Republicans. A faction in the Democratic party, under the leadership of John Randolph, endeavored to bring about the nomination of Monroe in opposition to that of Madison, advocated by Jefferson, but the latter partly healed the breach, and secured the nomination of his favorite. The result was a very large majority for the Democrats at the next election.

The close of Jefferson's administration, (1808-1809), was somewhat stormy. He recommended and secured the passage of an Act abolishing the slave trade on and after January 1, 1809. On account of the arbitrary reservations of the treaty forwarded to him by Erskine, then British Premier, he rejected it without submitting it to the Senate. This he justified, and his party supported him in the stand he had taken, but the Federalists made all of the capital

possible out of it. The firm denial by Jefferson of the British right of search, led gradually to the war of 1812.

The firing by the British Man-of-war "Leopard," upon the United States frigate "Chesapeake," in 1807, silenced the opposition to Jefferson's course, and on the 3d day of March, 1809, he retired from office after a brilliant and successful administration. It is almost universally conceded that Jefferson was the ideal American statesman, educated, democratic, daring, cool and wise.

Madison was his successor, not only in office, but in every particular of policy. He did not desire to plunge the country into war, but did not intend to submit to the course of insult and injury inflicted by the acts of both France and England. To play one of these powers against the other, was his intention, and he proposed to renew the non-intercourse act, which was to expire in 1810, against that power, refusing to annul its odious orders. France agreed to the American proposals of amicable intercourse, and accordingly the non-intercourse was decreed against England. England steadily maintained her position, and in 1811 our Minister was recalled from that country, and in 1812 war was declared by the United States. In 1811, the re-chartering of the National Bank, a favorite Federalist measure, though popular with many Republicans, was defeated. In 1811, also, Henry Clay, then a Republican, but afterwards a Whig, was elected Speaker of the House. His oratory was probably the most wonderful that has ever electrified the National Legislature. Calhoun, also serving in the House at that time, was more logical and a better reasoner, and Webster was as grand a master of rhetorical flourishes, but neither of them equalled the fiery eloquence of Clay.

In 1812 the Clintonian Democracy was organized in New

York, but their nomination of DeWitt Clinton for President was followed by the re-nomination of Madison by the Congressional Caucus—then the mode of making nominations. All of the opposition elements now concentrated on Clinton, but Madison was re-elected by a large majority. The convention of the opposition, at which eleven States were represented, was the origination of the national political conventions.

In his message to Congress, Madison declared that the British persisted in their search of American vessels and that thousands of Americans had been impressed by them; that all efforts at a peaceful settlement of these wrongs had failed, and that they were continually intriguing for the disintegration of the Union. A declaration of war was approved by Madison June 18, 1812.

If Clay's estimate is correct, nine-tenths of the people favored war, but the New England States bitterly opposed it. A few Federalist representatives issued an address opposing the war, denouncing it as unjust; some of the New England States opposed the Presidential call for the militia, and Massachusetts went beyond the others in sending peace petitions to Congress. Some of the residents of New London, Connecticut, made an infamous coalition with the enemy, giving information by means of blue light signals. The acme of these treasonable acts was the Hartford Convention, whose chief object, if Mr. Adams and others are to be believed, was the formation of an Eastern Confederacy and a separate peace with Great Britain. *Every delegate to this Convention was a Federalist.*

The treaty of Ghent, completed December 14, 1814, restored peace with honor to the United States, covering the Democrats with glory and their opponents with disgrace.

Postage rates and internal taxation were now greatly reduced. Madison recommended a protective tariff and the establishment of a national bank, both of which measures they had formerly opposed. To prove their mulishness, the Federalists wheeled into opposition to these measures. The first internal improvement bill was advocated by Clay, but, after favorable consideration by Madison, was finally vetoed.

In the next Congressional nominating caucus, Monroe succeeded in securing 65 votes to Crawford's 54. An opposition similar to that against Madison, and directed ostensibly against Virginia's domination in politics, was at once organized. Aaron Burr was a violent member of this opposition, and denounced not only Monroe, but the caucus system in politics. Monroe carried his election with the greatest ease. His inaugural address was conciliatory and sensible, and party feeling became rapidly assuaged. His opponent for the Presidential nomination, Crawford, of Georgia, he made Secretary of the Treasury, and surrounded himself with the ablest men of his party.

Mississippi and Illinois were born into the Union during Monroe's administration. Alabama also, was authorized to organize as a State, and Arkansas was made a Territory. Measures looking to the establishment of further protective duties, of internal improvements, and the enunciation of what has been since known as the Monroe Doctrine, distinguished this administration, which was so able, just and conciliatory that Monroe's re-nomination in 1820 was by spontaneous acclaim, and in the Electoral College there was but a single vote cast against him.

CHAPTER XI.

POLITICAL MEASURES—ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATION.

THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.—NEW PARTY LINES.—ALMOST A FEDERAL VICTORY.—PATRIOTIC PARTY ACTION.—THE SECTIONAL LINE.—FEDERALIST HOPES.—WHAT WE OWE DEMOCRACY.—DISRUPTION PREVENTED.—DR. FLOYD'S RESOLUTION.—BY RIGHT OF DISCOVERY.—ACQUISITION OF FLORIDA.—CHANGE OF INDIAN POLICY.—THE TARIFF AND INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.—DEBATE OF CLAY AND WEBSTER.—INCREASED TARIFF BILL PASSED.—ITS BROAD SCOPE.—THE CAMPAIGN OF 1824.—JACKSON DEFRAUDED.—THE INFAMOUS COALITION.—THE FACTS IN THE CASE.—THE COLUMBIAN LETTER.—TRADING PARTISANS.—JACKSON'S INCORRUPTIBILITY.—CLAY'S DENIAL.—WHAT KREMER AVOWED.—THE BALANCE OF PROOF.—CLEVER SPECIAL PLEADING.—JACKSON, BUCHANAN AND OTHERS.—"OLD HICKORY'S" FIRM BELIEF.—CONSPIRATORS RETIRED TO PRIVATE LIFE.—CLAY FORCED INTO THE NATIONAL REPUBLICAN (WHIG) PARTY.—THE NEW PARTY POLICY.—CONGRESSIONAL CAUCUSES ABOLISHED.—THE NATIONAL CONVENTION PLAN.—AN INCREASED OPPOSITION.

In the Missouri Compromise Measures, which agitated the XVIIth Congress, (convened March 4, 1820), we see accident almost effecting for the Federal party what their leaders did not have judgment sufficient to perfect. The Anti-slavery restrictions which were sought to be made conditions of the admission of this State, were rapidly re-creating party lines by forcing a change of base from Democratic and Federal, to Slavery and Anti-slavery parties, when the Northern Democracy, seeing that this would either deprive them of all voice and power in public affairs, or else force them into the lines of their detested enemies, the Federalists, determined to side with their political brethren of the South, and admit the State on as favorable conditions as possible.

Had the issue been forced on geographical lines, as the Federal party hoped, two Confederacies, separated by the slave limit, would have been formed. This was no doubt the earnest desire of the Federal leaders, particularly those of the Eastern States. Had the Northern Democracy ranged itself on the geographical line, this disruption would have undoubtedly occurred, but their timely action prevented this great calamity. To it we owe to-day a Union of the States, instead of two opposing nations upon American soil.

In 1820-1821, Dr. Floyd, of Virginia, proposed in Congress the settlement of our Columbia River territory, the only territory of the United States acquired by discovery, and showed the benefits that must accrue from it. By treaties ratified at this time, the United States acquired Florida from Spain, and ceded Texas to Mexico. The Indian policy of the government was also changed. The constitutionality of internal improvement bills, and a revision of the tariff, occupied a large share of the attention of Congress in 1823-1824. Protection incidental to revenue had been acquiesced in by the strict constructionists, but industrial protection as a separate system, was bitterly opposed by them. On this question the political giants, Clay and Webster were pitted against each other.

By making its scope sufficiently wide to embrace the hemp of Kentucky, the wool of New York and Ohio, the lead of Missouri and Illinois, and the iron of Pennsylvania, the bill advocating an increase, was narrowly passed. It was strongly opposed by most of the Southern States. The bill received the approval of Mr. Monroe. The tinkering, in 1824, with the electoral system, was but a step in the right direction; the proper move being the substitution of the popular majority, as the means of determining the election.

A return to the honest system of *viva voce* voting would also be productive of much good.

In 1824 there were four candidates all running as Republicans, according to most classifications, but really on the following tickets: Jackson and Crawford, both Democrats; John Quincy Adams, Federalist; and Henry Clay, National Republican (Whig). Of the popular and electoral votes, Jackson had a majority, but as before shown, the will of the people and of the States was defeated, and the election given to Adams. As we have alluded to a coalition between Clay and Adams, we will give a brief showing of the facts in the case, first stating that the defeat of the people's desire, cost all of those participating the loss of their popularity, and even Henry Clay never regained his grand station in public estimation.

A few weeks before the election of Mr. Adams, (in the House) a letter, ostensibly from a Pennsylvania Representative, appeared in the *Columbian Observer*, (published in Philadelphia), saying: "For some time past the friends of Clay have hinted that they, like the Swiss, would fight for those who would pay best. Overtures were said to have been made by the friends of Adams to the friends of Clay, offering him the appointment of Secretary of State for his aid to elect Adams. The friends of Clay gave this information to the friends of Jackson, and hinted that if the friends of Jackson would offer the same price, they would close with them. But none of the friends of Jackson would descend to such mean barter and sale. * * * Henry Clay has transferred his interest to Mr. John Q. Adams. * * * For this abandonment of duty to his constituents, should this unholy coalition prevail, Clay is to be appointed Secretary of State."

Clay denied this in a card, and thereupon George Kremer, of Pennsylvania, avowed himself the author of the letter, and able to prove its truth. Clay now asked an investigation by the House, but Kremer refused to appear, excusing himself by saying that if he appeared, it must either be as a witness *or an accuser*. In an address to his constituents, Mr. Kremer stated his grounds for his belief in the coalition. They were Clay's disregard of the instructions of the Legislature of Kentucky to vote for Jackson; that Clay was known to have been hostile to Adams; that he had leagued Western members together, to remain uncommitted until they had determined on the candidate they would support; that he (Kremer) had been approached by a Kentucky member, who desired to know what Jackson would do for Clay, if the latter and his friends aided in his election; and finally, that Clay had accepted the Secretaryship of State.

Clay's defence to this accusation is a clever piece of special pleading, but to an unbiased mind that is all that it seems to be. If General Jackson, George Kremer, James Buchanan, and others, are to be believed, there was just such a bargain and sale as had been claimed in the letter preceding the election, which was attributed to Kremer. A letter of Jackson on this subject, dated "Hermitage, June 5, 1827," says that early in January, 1825, he was visited by a member of Congress of the highest respectability, (James Buchanan), who told him that a great intrigue was going on of which he should be informed. "He said he had been informed by the friends of Mr. Clay that the friends of Mr. Adams had made overtures to them, saying if Mr. Clay and his friends would unite in aid of the election of Mr. Adams, Mr. Clay should be Secretary of State. * * * The friends of Mr. Clay stated the West did not wish to sepa-

rate from the West ; and if I would say, or permit any of my confidential friends to say, that in case I was elected President, Mr. Adams should not be continued Secretary of State, by a complete union of Mr. Clay and his friends, they would put an end to the Presidential contest in one hour.

* * * To which in substance I replied, that in politics, as in everything else, my guide was principle ; and contrary to the expressed and unbiassed will of the people, or their constituted agents, I never would step into the Presidential chair ; and requested him to say to Mr. Clay and his friends, (for I did suppose he had come from Mr. Clay, although he used the term of Mr. Clay's friends), that before I would reach the Presidential chair by such means of bargain and corruption, I would see the earth open and swallow Mr. Clay and his friends, and myself with them. * * * The second day after this communication and reply, it was announced in the newspapers that Mr. Clay had come out openly and avowedly in favor of Mr. Adams." The letters of Messrs. Markley, Buchanan, Eaton, and others on this subject, would occupy too much space for insertion here. It is sufficient to say that Clay positively denied the bargain, while Buchanan and Eaton mildly asserted as their opinion that there was such a bargain. Mr. Markley, while attempting to deny, rather confirms the opinion that the bargain was a fact.

That the people considered the coalition a corrupt one, is proven by the fact that they retired to private life those who were supposed to have aided in bringing it about, and so great was the odium in which Clay was held by the Democrats for his share, or supposed share, in it, that he left the party, and attached himself to the National Republicans, or Whigs, as they were called later. This new party was

formed by the Federals and discontented Democrats, and its principles were decidedly Federalistic, with a strong Anti-slavery leaning.

A good result of the agitation of 1824, was the doing away with Congressional caucuses, and the adoption of the State delegate, or National plan of nominating. Adams entered upon his administration with a strong opposition against him in both Houses of Congress, the Senate having a hostile majority, the House being nearly evenly divided; and his policy rather increased than diminished this opposition.

CHAPTER XII.

POLITICAL MEASURES—TARIFF AND NULLIFICATION.

THE CONGRESS OF AMERICAN STATES.—DEMOCRATIC DOCTRINE.—ELECTORAL REVISION.—THE TENURE-OF-OFFICE BILL.—A PROPOSED AMENDMENT.—A SECTIONAL MEASURE.—A CHANGE OF POLICY.—A NATURAL OBJECTION.—ELECTION OF JACKSON.—A WRONG RIGHTED.—DEBATE BETWEEN HAYNE AND WEBSTER.—THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.—A MONGREL INSTITUTION.—FOR AND AGAINST RE-CHARTERING THE NATIONAL BANK.—JACKSON'S VETO.—REMOVES THE GOVERNMENT FUNDS FROM THE BANK.—A SCHEMING CORPORATION.—EMBARRASSMENT AND DISTRESS.—RESOLUTIONS OF CENSURE.—ARROGANT OFFICERS.—PALTRY PARTISANS.—JACKSON THWARTED.—THE PUBLIC ESTRANGED. THE FIRST WHITEWASHING COMMITTEE.—A FINANCIAL WRECK.—A FAMILY QUARREL.—SOUTH CAROLINA'S NULLIFICATION ORDINANCE.—JACKSON'S PROCLAMATION.—CLAY'S COMPROMISE BILL.—THE COURSE OF DANIEL WEBSTER.—BENTON'S HARD MONEY SPEECH.—DEMOCRATIC LEGISLATION.—FRENCH DAMAGES PAID.—QUAKER PETITION.—ABOLITION MEMORIALS.—INCENDIARY DOCUMENTS.—FANATICS IN CONTROL.—A LARGE REWARD.—MONROE EDWARDS, THE NOTED FORGER.—JOHN A. MURRELL AS AN ABOLITIONIST.—CONSERVATIVE CONDUCT.—THE AGITATION ALLAYED.

The extreme application of the Monroe doctrine was the subject of a series of interesting debates in both House and Senate, in 1826, the subject being called up by the proposed Congress of American States. The Democratic party, as usual, placed itself in the attitude showing the soundest common sense, and the one becoming the American people's champion, by declaring against the measure and the entanglement of the United States in any unnecessary or sentimental alliances.

An attempt was made (in 1825–1826) to secure a better electoral plan, but it proved a failure, not having secured the necessary two-thirds majority, and was for the time

dropped. At the same session an attempt was made by the Democrats to pass a Tenure-of-office Bill, which was an excellent measure, and also to add a constitutional amendment, prohibiting any member of Congress from being appointed to any Federal office during the term for which he was elected. This also would have been a measure of great usefulness.

The tariff of 1828, a purely sectional measure, was a strong issue in the next campaign. The Eastern States, originally in favor of free trade, after building up manufacturing interests, became strongly protective, while the Southern States, at first protective, wheeled into the free-trade ranks. Being non-manufacturers, of course protection was against their interests, and this they had learned; while the sterile soil of New England, productive of nothing, must look to a high tariff to enable them to compete with English manufacturers. A moderate tariff had been supported by the Southern States, but they very naturally objected to its being made ruinously high.

In 1828 Jackson was elected by a vast majority; the people taking this method of righting his wrongs and also to protest against excessive protection and unconstitutional internal improvements. In the 1829-1830 session of Congress, occurred the famous debate between Hayne and Webster, in which the policy of nullification was defined. In his message to Congress, Jackson called attention to the expiration, in 1836, of the national bank charter. His views of its unconstitutionality, especially as a mongrel institution part individual and part governmental, must now seem to everyone to have been correct.

This message made the bank the bitter enemy of the administration, and this continued until and through the next

campaign. The National Republicans (Whigs) adopted the quarrel of the bank and made its re-chartering one of the planks of their platform, at their Baltimore Convention, in December, 1831. In 1811, as already shown, the Republicans (Democrats) had prevented the renewal, but in 1816 they had re-established it against the utmost efforts of the Federalists to defeat it.

Now they had completely changed sides, and with the aid of a few Democrats succeeded in passing the measure through both Houses, only to meet with Jackson's prompt veto, which was sustained. On the adjournment of Congress, Jackson had the government moneys removed from the bank. For this removal, he gave his reasons in his next message, which reasons were backed by the report of Roger B. Taney, at that time Secretary of the Treasury.

In order to defeat the President's resolution, the bank so managed its funds as to cause all the embarrassment possible to the people and business of the country, and petitions were sent to both Houses by the people. The Senate passed resolutions censuring the President, and the House appointed a committee of investigation, with ample powers to inquire into the affairs and management of the bank. Its reception by the managers of that mongrel institution was contemptuous in the extreme. They refused to be sworn, or to give access to their books, and at the next session the committee asked that they be brought before the bar of the House to answer for their contempt.

Owing to the opposition of the bank's partisans in the House, nothing came of the committee's complaint, but this arbitrary course of the bank lost it much of its popular support. In the Senate the names of the four government directors of the bank sent in by the President were refused

confirmation. Again sent in, they were again refused confirmation, as was also Roger B. Taney for Secretary of the Treasury. The Finance Committee of the Senate, seeing that the bank's course was estranging the public, did make an investigation and report, both so incomplete, partial and untruthful, that it only increased the distrust.

This was the first whitewashing committee in American politics. The bank very deservedly soon after came to grief, its assets being seized and the institution became in a short time a mere reminiscence. Jackson's Cabinet change—really only a party quarrel—was magnified by the opposition into a calamitous affair. VanBuren was awarded, and most probably justly so, the greatest blame for this quarrel between Jackson and Calhoun, then Vice-President.

In November, 1832, South Carolina issued the "nullification ordinance," in consequence of the oppressive tariff then in force. It declared that Congress had unconstitutionally exceeded its powers in imposing high and excessive duties, etc., and further declared the right of the State to arrest their operation within its limits, and fixed the date of this act going into effect on the 1st day of February, 1833. Upon receipt of the official notification of the passage of this act, Jackson issued a proclamation commanding the people to obey the law, and declaring that he should not hesitate to use arms in enforcing the laws. His interpretation of the governmental powers prove that the soldier greatly exceeded the statesman in Jackson's make up, but he acted with all honor and honesty.

The threatening aspect of affairs in South Carolina and Jackson's preparations for enforcing the tariff led to the passage of Clay's "Compromise Bill," in February, 1833. A heated debate followed the introduction in the Senate of acts

recommended by Jackson, to enable him to force a compliance with the laws by the people of South Carolina. These measures were odious to many of the Senators, but had a strong advocate in Mr. Webster, who here found a chance to reiterate the sentiments and beliefs expressed in his debate with Mr. Hayne.

The Democrats were at this time emphatically hard money men, and Benton so classed them in his famous speech in the Senate, in 1834. That coin was to be the currency of the country was certainly the intention of the framers of the Constitution, and Hamilton in 1791 (while Secretary of the Treasury) first planned a paper circulating medium. The bill introduced in the House, in 1834, making foreign coin a legal tender and equalizing gold and silver values, was true Democratic legislation and speedily relieved the country from the panic incident to the conduct and wreck of the national bank.

In 1835, through the mediation of Great Britain, the French spoliation claim was paid. This was promised by the treaty of 1831, but through measures of pique had been refused by the French, though every provision for its payment had been made. Some offense had been given to, or fancied by them, in the President's message and they had declared an intention to withhold payment of this claim, for which the money had been voted and collected, until he should apologize for his expressions.

Though anti-slavery measures had already become common, yet it was not until this time that it had developed a fanatical agitation. The society of Friends (Quakers) of Philadelphia sent in a petition urging the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and this was followed by a deluge of similar memorials from individuals and abolition

societies. Nor did they confine themselves to Congressional petitions, but scattered broadcast throughout the Southern States incendiary publications calculated to inflame sectional prejudice and to produce servile insurrections.

In all of the Northern abolition societies the fanatical element secured control, and the most terrible threats were made. The slaves were informed of their right to personal freedom and were advised to secure this in any manner they saw fit. They were told that murder and arson were no crimes when committed for this purpose, but were altogether desirable and praiseworthy. To counteract these infamous machinations, the slave-holders offered rewards for the arrest of any one found disseminating incendiary literature in the South.

A vigilance committee in Louisiana offered a reward of \$50,000 for the delivery to them of Arthur Tappan, a New-York Abolitionist, who obtained an unsavory notoriety through his connection with Monroe Edwards, the great American forger. John A. Murrell, known as the great Western Land Pirate, was another instrument of the Abolitionists; at least, he claimed to his clansmen that he had the aid and sanction of the Tappans and others, in the servile insurrection which he planned, but which, after his incarceration in the Tennessee penitentiary, was discovered and suppressed by the execution of about a dozen of its leaders in Mississippi.

The conservative element at the North held meetings and denounced the course of the agitators as calculated, and very justly, too, to incite the indignation of the Southern people, and to endanger not only their lives and property but also the safety of their wives and children. Perceiving that they had been too hasty in unmasking, some of the

Abolition leaders declared that the incendiary measures complained of were not authorized by the party, but were the acts of individuals over whom they exerted no control and with whom they had no affiliation. Though false, this for a time allayed the excessive agitation that prevailed in the threatened communities.

The amount of faith due to the disclaimers of these leaders may be correctly judged by after events, and the politicians of that day did not have long to wait until they found of how little worth they were. The mine of public indignation which they had exploded only led them to be more cautious in avowing their machinations and inciting their agents to covert instead of open measures in their combat against slavery.

CHAPTER XIII.

POLITICAL MEASURES—NEW PARTIES.

THE ANTI-MASONIC PARTY.—AN EPHEMERAL AFFAIR.—A FANCIFUL CRUSADE.—AN UNSCRUPULOUS POLITICIAN.—CLAY'S SURPLUS DISTRIBUTION MEASURES.—THE DEMOCRACY DECEIVED.—UNWISE ACTION AND ITS EFFECTS.—VAN BUREN ELECTED PRESIDENT.—A FINE ADDRESS.—THE FINANCIAL PANIC OF 1837.—REPEAL OF JACKSON'S CIRCULAR.—AN EXTRA SESSION CALLED.—DEMOCRATIC VIEWS AND ACTIONS URGED.—AN INDEPENDENT TREASURY ADVISED.—WHIG OPPOSITION.—LAND, BANKING AND ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATION.—PETITION OF THE VERMONT LEGISLATURE.—THE CALHOUN RESOLUTIONS.—A WHIG SPEAKER ELECTED.—PAIRING OFF INVENTED.—THE LOG CABIN CAMPAIGN.—SILLY SENTIMENTALITY.—TIPPECANOE AND TYLER TOO.—HARRISON ELECTED.—HIS ONE MONTH'S RULE.—JOHN TYLER SUCCEEDS TO THE PRESIDENCY.—DEMOCRATIC MEASURES REPEALED.—ALL DEBTS ABOLISHED.—CLAY'S PET MEASURE.—THE HOUR RULE ADOPTED.—HARRISON'S WIDOW PENSIONED.—MODERN EPAMINONDASES.—JEFFERSON'S SERVICES AND HIS POVERTY.—MONROE'S LOST FORTUNES.—JACKSON'S EMBARRASSMENTS.—DEMOCRATIC LOYALTY TO THE CONSTITUTION.—GREAT MEN AND INVALUABLE SERVICES.—FEDERALIST ROBBERY.

The Anti-Masonic Party, which originated in New York in 1826, had a varied experience and a checkered career, but it would be useless to waste any space in its consideration since it proved but an ephemeral affair, with no living principles, and only a foolish prejudice in their stead. There was about it no element of strength and we may consider it rather as a fanciful crusade against a secret organization than as a political party. It had its inception in the abduction and final disappearance of Morgan, consequent upon his disclosure of the principles of Free-Masonry. The late Thurlow Weed, unscrupulous even for a professional politician, made considerable capital out of this affair in a very unenviable way.

Clay's distribution measures in 1836—a plan for distributing amongst the States the surplus moneys resulting from sales of public lands, were foolishly passed by the Democrats and sanctioned by the President, though very reluctantly. To these measures the suspension of specie payment, financial difficulties and the defeat of 1840 have all been attributed. Certain it is, that they greatly embarrassed Jackson's successor and very likely aided in placing Harrison in the Presidential Chair, in 1840.

VanBuren was the Democratic candidate in 1836 and notwithstanding the defection of the Hugh L. White wing of the party, defeated the Whig candidate, Harrison, by a large majority. VanBuren's inaugural address may be considered almost an ideal Democratic document, and the people hoped for a continuance of the public and private weal. The distribution measures were soon to disturb this condition of affairs. On the 10th day of May, 1837, the banks all stopped specie payments, and the people followed suit.

Now, when too late, it was seen that the deposit with the States of a surplus of \$40,000,000, and the repeal of Jackson's circular requiring all payments for land to be made in specie, instead of bringing unlimited prosperity, had brought the reverse, and the Democrats realized that it was a shrewd Federal measure, when the bank of the United States, a Federal institution, was hailed as the savior of the country. So great was the distress on every hand, that VanBuren felt it a necessity to call an extra session of Congress to devise means for its relief.

In his message to Congress the President stated that he attributed the panic to the causes already mentioned and recommended that the Treasury be made an entirely distinct branch, and that treasury notes be issued for the deficit

then existing. He advised that the deposit then due the States, under the act of 1836, be withheld and also applauded Jackson's "specie circular," and advised that no further connection be had by the government with any bank of issue.

These recommendations were, under the circumstances, eminently wise and proper, but the Whigs, fearing that their cause might be injured by the relief of the existing distress, fought hard against them. Able as were the speakers who placed themselves in opposition to the administration, (Clay, Webster and others), the measures recommended by Mr. VanBuren were carried. No outside banking business, and land and revenue dues to be payable only in coin were once again affirmed as Democratic doctrines.

In addition to these measures and the discussion of land and banking matters, anti-slavery agitation was again prominent. Petitions from Abolition citizens and societies were not the only means employed; the Vermont Legislature asking that slavery be abolished in the District of Columbia and the Territories, and that no future slave State be admitted to the Union. In answer to these petitions, Mr. Calhoun had passed in the Senate resolutions declaring what had already been affirmed by Congress, that the Federal government had no power to interfere with slavery in the States, and that it was not advisable to abolish it in the Territories, or the District of Columbia.

The contest for the Speakership of the House in the XXVIth Congress was unusually exciting, and ended in the election of R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, a Whig, although the Representatives stood 122 Democrats and 113 Whigs. A few Democrats under the lead of Calhoun acted with the Whigs and elected Hunter. The final and complete separation of

the Treasury from all State banks was a leading measure of this body. The Whigs fought fiercely against this measure, but were at last beaten. "Pairing off" was invented during this session and severely and justly condemned by John Quincy Adams in a resolution offered in the House, but which was never voted on.

The campaign of 1840 was a surprising one in its silly sentimentality and the amount of clap trap and humbug used to infuse enthusiasm into the masses. Log cabins on wheeled platforms, with coon skins tacked up on the doors, were the rostrums from which the Harrison leaders addressed the masses. "Tippecanoe (nick name for Harrison) and Tyler too," was their slogan, and this hurrah and excitement, combined with the mistake of the Democrats in 1836, carried Harrison into the Presidency.

The nomination of Harrison was a sad blow to the ambition of Mr. Clay, the greatest and ablest of the Whig leaders, but Harrison did not live long to enjoy his triumph; his term of office being exactly one month (he died April 4, 1841). He was the first of the Presidents who had died in office, and John Tyler was the first Vice-President that had succeeded to the Presidency. The XXVIIth Congress had a Whig majority in both branches, and Mr. White of Kentucky was elected Speaker of the House. As might have been expected, old Federal measures again became popular.

The independence of the Treasury was declared a fallacy and the Democratic Act of the preceding session was repealed. A Bankruptcy Act was passed that practically abolished all debts; the proceedings for release from obligations to be taken before the Federal courts at the will of the debtor. All that was necessary to absolve from all debt was to surrender the effects of the debtor and to evade

a proof of fraud. The land revenue distribution—another pet measure of the Federalists, especially of Clay—was recommended by Mr. Tyler and passed by Whig votes. Calhoun's speeches against this measure are unusually strong.

The hour rule was adopted at this session by the House, but Clay failed to have it adopted by the Senate, the rule being opposed by both Democrats and Whigs. A bill for pensioning the widow of Harrison (for it was nothing else) was offered and carried by the Whigs, despite the opposition of the Democratic members, who showed that Jefferson, Monroe, Madison and Jackson had left the Presidency poor and in debt, and that no Democrat had dared to oppose the Constitution and create a private pension list by voting to them or their heirs or widows pecuniary aid.

The whole human family, said one Democratic member, owed more to Jefferson than to any other one man, and his estate and even his furniture were sold to pay his debts, and his very grave had been made in soil belonging to a stranger. Monroe, a patriot of the Revolution, whose later life had been worn out in the civil service, had lost his estate, his family was scattered and a loved daughter lay buried in a foreign land. Madison had to borrow money to pay his debts contracted in the public service and his case had been that of Jackson, but the Democracy had never gone to the public Treasury and drawn the people's money to relieve them.

This was not because the Democracy did not value these grand men; not that they did not possess a proper amount of gratitude, but that such a proceeding was neither constitutional, patriotic, honest, nor honorable. These were great men, who had rendered invaluable services to their

country and the Democratic party properly appreciated them and their services, but it was left for the Federal party to rob the public Treasury for the pensioning of private parties. This principle, originating with the Federalists, was carried out by the Whigs, and has descended to their successors in opposition to Democracy, the (Black) Republican party.

It is but just to the Federalists to say that their raids upon the Treasury were confined to the comparatively legitimate filchings alluded to, viz: that of civil pensions. It would be well for the people of the Republic, if the Republican party had strictly followed the example of the aristocratic Federalist, for then we should have been spared their land and salary grabs, their Credit Mobiliers, their railway jobbery, their star-route thefts, their naval contract and Indian Bureau robbery and their countless other villainies and infamies.

CHAPTER XIV.

POLITICAL MEASURES—ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.

NAVAL FUND CONSUMED.—WILD WHIG LEGISLATION.—THE LOAN BILL AND TARIFF.—CALHOUN'S ANSWER TO CLAY.—ANOTHER BANK BILL.—TYLER'S VETO.—CLAY CENSURES THE PRESIDENT.—RESIGNATION OF THE CABINET.—STILL ANOTHER VETO BY TYLER.—THE WHIG ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE.—CALEB CUSHING'S DEFENCE OF THE PRESIDENT.—CLAY RESIGNS FROM THE SENATE.—HIS FAREWELL ADDRESS.—A BANKRUPT GOVERNMENT.—THE WHIGS IN DESPAIR.—A DOUBLE MEASURE.—ADMINISTRATION FOLLY.—LOSING THEIR POWER.—VAN BUREN'S NOMINATION DEFEATED.—THE FIRST DARK HORSE.—CLAY THE WHIG CANDIDATE.—THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS.—THE SITUATION ACCEPTED.—A NEW PARTY.—POLK'S MESSAGE.—DEMOCRATIC LEGISLATION RECOMMENDED.—54-40, OR FIGHT.—A DEFINITE BOUNDARY LINE SOUGHT FOR.—THE TREATY FINALLY CONCLUDED.—WAR WITH MEXICO DECLARED.—INTRODUCTION OF THE WILMOT PROVISIO.—FURIOUS CONTENTIONS.—CALHOUN'S RESOLUTION.

The Act of March 3, 1837, had so increased and extended the naval pensions that the fund created by the government for such pensions had been entirely consumed. To create this fund the government had dedicated its share of all naval prize moneys and after this had been absorbed the pensions became a charge upon the Treasury. This had never been contemplated in establishing these pensions, and the Democrats now sought to amend the Act of 1837, but were defeated by the Whigs.

A loan bill of \$12,000,000 was also passed, and it was proposed to do away with the Compromise Tariff Act of 1833. Clay and Clayton, of Delaware, author of the bill, had been aided by Mr. Calhoun in bringing about this compromise,

and Calhoun still defended it. Clay, however, made another of his many changes of position and advocated the new measure, which was carried by the Whigs. Calhoun's speech in answer to Clay on this bill was a splendid effort, and its sarcastic paralleling of the Tory party of England and the Whig party of America, caused the latter to wince, and was absolutely unanswerable.

A national bank bill was also passed by the Whigs, but some of its provisions did not meet with the approval of Tyler, and he was forced to veto it. This was a consistent measure of Tyler, as, when a member of the Democratic party, he had declared his belief in the unconstitutionality of such legislation. Clay censured the conduct of the President in this matter rather harshly, but the necessary two-thirds majority could not be secured to pass the bill over the President's veto, and it failed. After the second veto by Tyler, his Cabinet, with the exception of Mr. Webster, resigned.

Again the bill was tinkered up by the Whigs, offered by Mr. Sargeant, of Pennsylvania, passed by a considerable majority in the House, concurred in by the Senate, and promptly vetoed by Mr. Tyler. The Whigs now issued an address to the people, claiming that they had been betrayed by the President, whom they thenceforth repudiated utterly and entirely. This address was answered by Caleb Cushing, who attributed the dissatisfaction of the memorialists to Clay's dictation and dissatisfaction that Mr. Tyler would not be made a tool of by a party caucus.

Tyler, unable to make his peace with the Whig party, or the Democrats whom he had once deserted, retired after his term of office to private life. Clay, disappointed in his ambition to become President, unable to carry his pet meas-

ures and disgusted with the chieftain that he had helped into power, resigned his Senatorial position, making the occasion the subject of a valedictory address, in which he claimed that though he might have been guilty of errors, he had never intentionally, or from pride, vanity or personal aggrandizement, given his support to a single measure of doubtful utility or dishonest import.

The government was now without money and without credit, and the Whigs resorted almost to the Democratic measure they had been so anxious to annul—the abolition of the land revenue distribution—by a bill temporarily suspending it. This measure, and a bill for increasing the tariff, both met with the President's veto. A bill was now introduced fixing an increase of the tariff over the twenty per cent. compromise rate, and a suspension of the land revenue distribution while this increased tariff amendment was in force. This was passed and approved by the President. Notwithstanding the crippled condition of the country's finances, the Whigs offered and passed measures providing for a great increase in the naval force.

The foolish and extravagant legislation of the Whigs lost them their majority in the next (XXVIIIth) Congress, which met December 28, 1843. The Democrats elected their candidate for Speaker of the House, by a vote of 128 to 59. The President's message to this Congress was an unimportant document. It called attention to the Oregon boundary line and that of the Northwestern territory, and recommended a government issue of paper money.

In the Democratic Convention of 1844, although South Carolina sent no delegates, yet Mr. Calhoun was able to defeat the nomination of VanBuren, and indirectly cause that of James K. Polk, who was a candidate for the Vice-

Presidency. This was the origination of the "dark horse" in American politics, and was a great surprise to every one. The opposition of Calhoun to VanBuren was caused by their avowed difference in regard to the annexation of Texas, which the former advocated and the latter opposed.

Clay was named as the Whig candidate, but the people were in no mood for another Whig administration, and Polk and Dallas were elected. In this campaign, in addition to other party differences, the Democracy espoused the annexation of Texas, while the Whigs arrayed themselves in opposition to it. In his last message to Congress, Tyler recommended the annexation, and this called out a great many speeches, *pro* and *con*. The final annexation of Texas was the subject of much bitter debate and not a little intrigue. By its acceptance and incorporation, its war with Mexico was tacitly adopted.

In the XXIXth Congress, the American party—a new political organization—was first represented, having in the House four members from New York and two from Pennsylvania. Polk called the attention of Congress to the fact of the preparation of Mexico for a war with the United States, and advised, on account of the failure of that country to adhere to the treaty of 1839, that the American Government should take the initiative in declaring war. He recommended a revision of the tariff, making protection merely incidental.

Florida as a slave State, and Iowa as a free State, were admitted at this session. The indefinite boundary line of 1842, called for the "54-40, or fight" plank in the Democratic platform of 1844, and in August of that year, the British and American Governments began negotiations for the establishment of a definite boundary line. Mr. Calhoun,

then Secretary of State, proposed as a boundary, from ocean to ocean, the parallel of 49 degrees of north latitude. This proposal was modified by the British Minister, and the modification rejected by Calhoun. Polk was in favor of the 54-40 line, and had so declared in his inaugural address.

The 49th degree was finally agreed upon by the British Government, but the time for its immediate acceptance had passed, and the people declared for "54-40, or fight." Disposed to accept the 49th degree as the boundary, but not desiring to court the furious opposition of the press and people, the President referred the matter to the Senate, which advised the acceptance of the British proposition, and the treaty was concluded.

War with Mexico was declared, and at the same time the administration made secret efforts for a peaceable adjustment of the difficulties between the two nations. The "Wilmot proviso," a foolish and useless measure, by a silly fanatic from Pennsylvania, was introduced into the House at this session. It provided, "that no part of the territory to be acquired (by the \$3,000,000 boundary appropriation that had been placed at the disposal of the President) should be open to the introduction of slavery." Calhoun promptly denounced the proviso as a gratuitous menace to the slave-holding States, but for two sessions it was furiously contended for and against.

Finally defeated, Mr. Calhoun offered a resolution declaring the territories the common property of the States, and denied the right of Congress to prohibit the introduction of slave property. This resolution never reached a vote.

CHAPTER XV.

POLITICAL MEASURES—MISSOURI COMPROMISE ANNULLED.

A WHIG HOUSE AND SPEAKER.—ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATION AND THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.—AN AMENDED BILL PASSED.—THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION OF 1848.—OLD ROUGH AND READY.—A HEROIC EPIGRAM.—TAYLOR ELECTED PRESIDENT.—POLK'S LAST MESSAGE.—A PROSPEROUS CONDITION.—DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR CREATED.—WHIG MAJORITY IN CONGRESS.—A DEMOCRATIC SPEAKER.—MEASURES INTRODUCED BY CLAY.—SEWARD'S RESOLUTION REJECTED.—INFAMOUS SCHEMES.—TRAITOROUS DOCTRINES.—ABOLITION OR SECESSION.—CALHOUN'S LAST SPEECH.—WEBSTER'S TRIBUTE TO HIM.—DEATH OF GENERAL TAYLOR.—A BRAVE SOLDIER AND AN HONEST STATESMAN.—BILL FOR ADMISSION OF CALIFORNIA.—A SENATORIAL PROTEST.—THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE ANNULLED.—THE CONVENTION AT NASHVILLE.

In the session beginning in December, 1847, the House had a Whig majority, and Winthrop, of Massachusetts, a Whig candidate, was elected Speaker. In his message to this Congress the President called attention to the American victories of Taylor and Scott and the occupation of the city of Mexico, and announced that negotiations for a treaty of peace were then in progress. Anti-slavery agitation was resumed, owing to the proposed organization of the Territory of Oregon. An amendment to the bill proposing its exclusion was offered, which provided for the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific.

Unable to pass this bill, it was amended by the insertion of the Anti-slavery clause of 1787. Calhoun now declared that this unconstitutional and adverse legislation was a subversion of the Union, and declared it the duty of the slave States to secede from a bond in which they had nothing

certain save open menace and continual insult. The amended bill was passed and approved by the President, who advised strict compliance with its provisions.

In the Democratic Convention of 1848, non-interference with slavery in the Territories was the main question for adoption into the platform. New York sent two sets of delegates, both of which were excluded. Lewis Cass and William O. Butler were the nominees of the party. The Whigs nominated General Zachary Taylor, who, if not a Democrat, was certainly not a party man, as he himself often announced. He had proved himself, in the Mexican war, the very incarnation of the American military spirit, and though robbed of his regular troops by General Scott, made the most glorious fight of the whole war at Buena Vista, where with his gallant volunteers he beat off the Mexicans who outnumbered him five to one.

“Old Rough and Ready,” as he was popularly called, knew how to awaken and hold the enthusiasm of his men, and at this battle gave an instance of his ready wit. An officer came to him with the information that the enemy were in very heavy force, at least five men to one.

“That’s all right,” said the old hero, “I’d as lief whip them five to one, as man to man,” and whip them he did to their hearts’ content.

It was useless to attempt to stem the popular tide, and on the strength of his war record and his personal heroism, Taylor floated into the Presidency with a good majority.

The Free-Soil Democrats—a discontented following of Van Buren—met at Utica and announced their platform. Though not sufficiently Democrats to adhere to the party, yet they were too strongly Democratic to go to the lengths of the Abolitionists in opposing the Constitution. They nominated

Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams, and did not secure a single electoral vote.

In his last message to Congress, Polk recommended the extension of the Missouri Compromise line westward to the Pacific, and pronounced this the best means of quieting the anti-slavery agitation by giving a definite and uniform limit to the slave territory. He spoke of the prosperous condition of the country now on the Democratic basis of a metallic currency. The government loans commanded high premiums; a successful war had been waged against a treacherous and unscrupulous enemy, and the American people were now at peace with the world. At this session the Department of the Interior, or as it was then called, the Home Department, was created.

General Taylor was inaugurated March 4, 1849. In the Congress that assembled in December, there was a Whig majority, but enough of them were from Southern States for the Democrats to elect the Speaker of the House, (Cobb, of Georgia,) by a bare majority of three votes. In the Senate, in addition to Calhoun and Webster, Clay again appeared. The two former had a mighty debate upon the organization of the territories of California and New Mexico. Calhoun and other Southern members issued an address to the people upon the condition of affairs, and the excitement was intense.

In order to appease the irritation of both parties, Taylor recommended that California be at once admitted as a State, when the slavery question could be settled by the vote of her people, and that there be no further agitation of the question for Utah and New Mexico until they had a sufficient population to come into the Union as States, and that then they should be allowed to settle the vexed ques-

tion for themselves. Clay introduced compromise measures, but they were opposed by both Northern and Southern members. Seward proposed the application to the question of the Wilmot proviso, but his resolution was rejected by a majority of the Senate.

The evident purpose of the Abolition and ultra Federals was now, and had been for years, to irritate, and by every means in their power to so menace and annoy the Southern States as to force them to withdraw from the Union. Already their leaders had pronounced the Constitution "a league with death, a covenant with hell," and had spoken of the starry banner as a "flaunting lie." They, themselves, hated the Union far more bitterly than did the South, but they had not the courage to secede themselves, and only hoped to be able to cause the slave States to do so.

In Calhoun's last speech he showed that if the aggressions of the anti-slavery fanatics continued, the choice of the South must lay between abolition and secession—nothing else would be left to her. Early in 1850 this strong advocate of States rights passed away, having reached the ripe age of sixty-eight years. He was probably the clearest thinker and most logical reasoner that American statesmanship has ever known, and Webster said of him, that his integrity was unspotted, his honor unimpeachable, and his character high and noble.

In July of this year (1850) General Tayler died after a four days illness, the second of our Presidents who had died with the harness on. In his short term of service, in his election on account of the popular enthusiasm for a military hero, and in his triumphing as a Whig candidate with that party at its last gasp, we see a striking parallel between Taylor and Harrison. Had Taylor lived, he might have

been potent in allaying, in some measure, the party strife. Raised a soldier, his mind seemed intuitively to grasp the proper solution of political emergencies, and in his message we find a wonderful breadth of view and nobility and honesty of purpose.

Millard Fillmore now succeeded to the Presidency, and in appointing his Cabinet he made Daniel Webster Secretary of State. In the Senate an amendment proposing the establishment of the Missouri Compromise line in California was added to the bill proposing the admission of that State to the Union. The amendment was lost, and the bill carried by a two-thirds vote. **Upon this**, ten Southern Senators drew up a written protest against the passage of this bill. This protest was refused permission to be entered upon the journal of the Senate. The House concurred in the bill for admission, it was approved by the President, and thus was the Missouri Compromise killed.

A newspaper (The Southern Press) was established at Washington by those Senators who had joined in Calhoun's address to the people, and the question of secession was boldly discussed. A convention for furthering this scheme was held at Nashville, and South Carolina and Mississippi sent delegates. The other Southern States were invited to co-operate in selecting and sending delegates to a Southern Congress, but the refusal of Georgia and the other States to participate for a time did away with the movement.

CHAPTER XVI.

POLITICAL MEASURES—SECESSION PROPOSED.

A SKULKER'S PARADISE.—ABOLITIONIST CHANGE OF TONE.—A PEACEFUL DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION DEMANDED.—THE WHIGS OF 1852.—A SECOND DARK HORSE.—JOHN P. HALE'S CANDIDACY.—PIERCE'S OVERWHELMING MAJORITY.—THE NATIVE AMERICAN PARTY.—THE TEST IN NEW YORK CITY.—SCOTCHED BUT NOT KILLED.—A SECRET ORGANIZATION.—WHAT FOREIGNERS OWE THE DEMOCRACY.—ORGANIZATION OF NEBRASKA.—DOUGLAS SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY DOCTRINE.—THE KANSAS TROUBLES AGAIN.—THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.—THE DRED SCOTT DECISION.—APPEALED TO THE U. S. SUPREME COURT.—INCENDIARY THREATS.—THE NATIVE AMERICAN PLATFORM.—SECRET ORDER POLITICS.—THE WHIG ENDORSEMENT.

The first appearance of Abolitionism in American politics (in 1840) has already been alluded to and its progress described elsewhere. It had increased in power with wonderful rapidity, offering, as it did, a refuge for disappointed Democrats and despairing Whigs, who were willing to do anything to beat the Democracy. These Abolitionists, elated at the success of the anti-slavery agitation, now began anew to petition for the extinguishment of slavery. The party in 1840 favored all *constitutional* methods of *abridging* and *restricting* slavery; later it favored *any* means of *abolishing* it. Their continual agitation for the abolishing of slavery in the District of Columbia finally brought about that measure.

Disunion plans of the anti-slavery agitators were unmasked by the petitions of citizens of Delaware and Pennsylvania, which declared slavery contrary to the Divine law, that it was an unmitigated evil, and that no union could exist with

States which tolerated it. These petitions prayed that some plan be devised for the peaceful and immediate dissolution of the Union.

In 1852 the Whigs attempted to repeat their victory with General Taylor, by offering to the people as **their** candidate General Winfield Scott, another Mexican war hero. Scott had neither the popular manners, the dignity, nor the native sense and uncompromising firmness of Taylor, and was rather well described in his popular *sobriquet* of "Old Fuss and Feathers." His nickname was not the sort of slogan with which to fire the popular heart, and he was easily and badly beaten by the second "dark horse" of the Democracy, Franklin Pierce.

Pierce had a large popular majority over both Whig and Abolition candidates, and his electoral majority was tremendous. In this campaign the Abolitionists, or as they called themselves, Independent Democrats, ran John P. Hale as their candidate and only polled 157,926 votes, against the 296,232 which Gerritt Smith—**their candidate in 1848**—polled. This falling off seemed a healthy indication that party passion was subsiding, but this proved a fallacy.

As the Whigs were now destined to disappear from the stage of American politics, it may be well to review the rise, progress and fall of the native American party, whose maxim was that "Americans (native born) should rule America," and whose watchword was the order of General Washington on a momentous occasion during the Revolution, "Put none but Americans on guard to-night." This party had its inception in 1835 and grew with wonderful rapidity until 1837. In this year the Democracy gave it its quietus for a time, the issue being made on the New York City mayoralty election.

In 1844 it was again active and carried the city by a fair majority. In Philadelphia the new party occasioned furious riots, in which its adherents destroyed two Catholic churches, and they also carried that city. New York and Pennsylvania together sent six native American Representatives to the XXIXth Congress, which convened in December, 1845. The abuses of the party in 1844 had so alienated the better elements, that in the XXXth Congress a single Native American Representative (from Pennsylvania) was all that remained of the party.

In 1852 the party again appeared; this time as a secret society, known to outsiders as "Know Nothings." In this way, massing its votes by secret instructions upon certain candidates, the organization began to develop a wonderful power, and could it have won over any considerable Democratic following, it would have swept the country at the next election, and abolished forever alien suffrage and the holding of office by foreigners. By the watchfulness and incorruptibility of the Democracy, the right of franchise and of office was reserved to all citizens, who by residence and naturalization chose to become citizens of the United States. So much for the debt which all foreign born citizens owe to the Democratic party.

In 1853 a bill for a territorial organization for Nebraska, (embracing the present territory of Kansas and Nebraska) in which no mention of the Missouri Compromise repeal was made, was tabled, but it was revived at the next session, amended by Mr. Douglas with his squatter sovereignty clause. It was favorably received. In the Senate Mr. Clayton moved an amendment prohibiting alien suffrage, which was killed in the House, and the bill passed without it. For a proper consideration of the stormy measures attending the

organization of Kansas, a volume the size of the present one would hardly prove sufficient.

So great had the party troubles become by the close of 1855 that they were made by the President the occasion of a special message to Congress. The date of this message was January 24, 1856, and early in February a proclamation was issued, warning unlawful combinations to disperse peaceably, or the local militia and United States forces would be called out to quell their insurrectionary measures. So fierce were these dissensions that for years Kansas was in a state of continual anarchy and bloodshed. Kansas finally became a State in January, 1861.

The Dred Scott case, under the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, was a very celebrated one, and deserves some mention here. It came up in the United States Circuit Court for the District of Missouri, at the April term, 1854. The case was entitled Dred Scott against John F. A. Sanford, and recited that the defendant, plaintiff's alleged owner, had committed a trespass *vi et armis* in unlawfully holding plaintiff, his wife and daughter, in slavery in said District of Missouri.

From the Circuit Court the case was appealed to the United States Supreme Court, where a majority of the Justices declared that slaves being property, and being so expressly declared by the Constitution, the Act of Congress prohibiting their being held and owned beyond any certain limit was unconstitutional, and therefore void. The lamentable action of the slave States in 1861 was no doubt precipitated, if not entirely caused, by the incautious avowal by those highest in position in the Republican party, that there should be no more Dred Scott decisions—a direct and infa-

mous threat to override and nullify the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States.

Following its cautious secret policy, and now having gathered into its fold all of the Whig party and a large part of the Republican, the Native American organization prepared its campaign for 1856. Opposition to aliens and to Roman Catholicism was its platform. "Americans must rule America, and to this end native born citizens should be selected for all State, Federal and municipal offices, or government employment, in preference to all others; nevertheless,

"Persons born of American parents, residing temporarily abroad, should be entitled to all the rights of native born citizens. * * * A change in the laws of naturalization, making a continued residence of twenty-one years of all not hereinbefore provided for (those already citizens) an indispensable requisite for citizenship hereafter, and excluding all paupers and persons convicted of crime from landing upon our shores."

No one could become a member unless American born, and not even then if he, or his wife, was a member of the Catholic Church. The members were obligated to obey the orders of the authorities of the organization; never to betray its secrets, never to write any of them down, never to vote for any but American born citizens, and not for an American Catholic. He must respond promptly to the "imperative notice" and the sign or cry of the order.

The summons to meetings of ordinary moment were white cards or papers, heart-shaped. Upon these the date of the meeting was printed, if the call was a sudden or unexpected one. These were scattered upon the streets, never sent to the members. If the heart-shaped papers were red

the call was an extraordinary one, meaning actual trouble, and the members were to assemble fully armed. One of the instructions to the candidates was follows: “It has no doubt been long apparent to you, brothers, that foreign influence and Roman Catholicism have been making steady and alarming progress in our country. You cannot have failed to observe the significant transition of the foreigner and Romanist from a character quiet, retiring and even abject, to one bold, threatening, turbulent and despotic in its appearance and assumptions.”

The Grand Council of this order was held on the 22d day of February, 1856, and the next day its National Convention was held. The only States not represented were Georgia, South Carolina, Maine and Vermont. Millard Fillmore was its nominee for President. The Whig Convention at Baltimore endorsed the nominations of the American party and then adjourned.

CHAPTER XVII.

POLITICAL MEASURES—DEBATES OF DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN.

A CAST-OFF TITLE ASSUMED.—A MONGREL COLLECTION.—A LEAGUE AGAINST DEMOCRACY.—JOHN C. FREMONT NOMINATED FOR PRESIDENT.—A PATH-FINDER BY PROXY.—A WONDERFUL DEVELOPMENT.—THE WHIG PARTY DISAPPEARS.—JONAH'S GOURD.—INAUGURATION OF BUCHANAN.—A CONSCIENTIOUS OFFICER.—THE NATIVE AMERICANS DISAPPEAR.—A PARTY WITHOUT A PRINCIPLE.—THE JOINT CANVASS OF DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN.—DEMOCRATIC BICKERINGS.—AN UNEQUAL CONTEST.—AN UNTER-RIFIED DEMOCRAT.—THE MOB DEFIED.—TACTICS OF THE REPUBLICANS.—KANSAS' DOUBLE CONSTITUTION.—A FALSE STATEMENT.—THE LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION ADOPTED.—THE DOCUMENT FORWARDED.—VOTING AT THE ELECTION.—BILL ADMITTING KANSAS.—DOUGLAS' AMENDMENT.—STILL A TERRITORY. REQUIREMENTS REJECTED.

The Abolition party which had now assumed the cast off title of the Democrats, (Republican) met on the 18th day of June, 1856, at Philadelphia. This was the most mongrel collection that ever placed a candidate in nomination. Whig, Free-soil Democrat, Independent Democrat, Native, Abolitionist, Slavery Restrictor, Liberty Whig, and Old-time Federalist, all entered into the league of hatred against the Union, the Constitution and their unswerving champion, the Democracy.

The candidate they placed in nomination was a fit one for this motley crew. It was John C. Fremont, who has since been aptly and uniquely described as a Southern man with Northern feelings, a General who never won a battle, a statesman without a policy, a millionaire without a dollar, and an ultra aristocrat while a radical Republican. At that time he had gained some notoriety by marrying, against her

parent's wishes, Jessie Benton, daughter of Missouri's great Senator.

He had made several overland expeditions to the Pacific coast, aided by Fitzpatrick, Kit Carson and others of the old trappers and plainsmen, and was glorying in the title of "The Pathfinder"—this man of contradictions, who never found a path in his life. With this leader of straw these incongruous elements developed a wonderful strength, and showed in the Electoral College the surprising total of 114 votes, while Fillmore got but 8. Buchanan, the Democratic candidate, had 174 electoral votes. The popular vote was: Buchanan, 1,838,169; Fremont, 1,341,264; Fillmore, 874,534.

After this election the Whig party completely disappeared, its members and ideas going over to and re-inforcing the Republicans. Those of the party, but few in number, who were not averse to slavery, affiliated with the Democracy. The Federal party had become the National Republican party, the National Republican had become the Whig, and Whig now made a large part of the (Black) Republican or Abolition organization, furnishing to the latter the brains, ideas and experience of its very varied existence, and assuming the Republican fanaticism and the single principle of their organization, the idea of slavery abolition.

The Native American party now had five Senators and about twenty Representatives in the XXXVth Congress. In the next Presidential campaign, however, it entirely disappeared. Buchanan was inaugurated March 4, 1857, and made an honest, conscientious officer. Believing that the decision that Congress could neither legislate slavery into, nor exclude it from a territory, to be correct, he acted upon this conviction in his treatment of the Kansas question.

The American idea cut but a small figure in the gigantic contest between the anti-slavery leaders and the despairing slave-holders.

Douglas' "squatter sovereignty," which was looked upon with distrust alike by the ultra party men, North and South, was really honest Democratic doctrine. That the majority should rule and the minority submit, was certainly not unusual language to Democratic ears, and its acceptance by both parties would have deprived the Republicans of all of their political capital, and left them then, as they are to-day, a party without an honest principle or a decent excuse to live.

The joint-debate canvass of Douglass and Lincoln through Illinois in 1858 was eagerly watched by people of all shades of politics, for it was well known that it would be an exposition of the views of the Republicans and Northern Democrats, and it was almost an open secret that there would be either a split in the Democratic party in the next campaign or that a portion of it would go over to the Republican camp. In either case Democratic defeat was certain, and the attempted dissolution of the Union more than probable.

In this debate Douglas was thoroughly honest, and adhered to his popular sovereignty doctrine through thick and thin. The conditions under which the two men debated—Douglas with everything to lose, Lincoln with everything to win—may be understood by an extract from one of the "Little Giant's" speeches at Freeport. Being interrupted frequently during his debate by the coarse expressions and howling of the Republican auditors, he said: "I wish to remind you that while Mr. Lincoln was speaking there was not a Democrat vulgar and blackguard enough to interrupt him. But I know that the shoe is pinching you. I am

clinging Lincoln now, and you are scared to death for the result.

“I have seen this thing before. I have seen men make appointments for discussions, and the moment their man has been heard, try to interrupt and prevent a fair hearing of the other side. I have seen your mobs before and defy your wrath.” This shows the tactics adopted by the Republicans at that time and adhered to until this; mob law, noise, howling, military rule, sectional excitement and the bloody shirt, but never logical argument and calm judgment.

With a Topeka (illegal) Governor and Constitution and a Lecompton (legal) Constitution and a legally appointed Governor, of course, Buchanan sustained the latter. In the legal election there were 6,143 ballots cast for admitting slavery, against 539 against it. The allegations of the Free State men, that they did not have an equal show, are false, their sole disparity being either their want of courage, or their disinclination to recognize the lawful authority of Governor Walker, the Territorial executive appointed by Buchanan.

The Lecompton Constitution was officially declared adopted, and an election for State officers, members of the Legislature and a member of Congress was ordered for the first Monday in January, 1858. By active colonization the Free State men now cast a vote of 10,226. The Free State ballots were headed “Against the Lecompton Constitution,” but that document had already been forwarded and submitted to Congress, and after a fierce debate in both Houses was accepted, and under its provisions the bill for admitting Kansas was passed on the 4th day of May, 1858.

This bill (by which the State was admitted) was known as the English bill, but it had an important amendment

attached to it by Mr. Douglas embodying his squatter sovereignty idea. The bill was approved by Buchanan, but as the State claimed a ceding of the public lands at least six times as great as had been granted to other States, Congress referred the matter back to the people of the State for vote on acceptance of a smaller quantity of land and certain conditions as to its sale, and this being rejected by a large majority, the Territory of Kansas failed to become a State under the Lecompton Constitution.

SUPPLEMENT.

CHAPTER I.

POLITICAL MEASURES—JOHN BROWN'S RAID.

KANSAS BECOMES A FREE STATE.—THE WYANDOTTE CONVENTION OF 1859.—A FOOLISH FANATIC.—JOHN BROWN'S RAID.—CAPTURE OF HARPER'S FERRY.—CITIZENS MURDERED IN THE STREETS.—SURROUNDED AND CAPTURED.—A TAME HERO.—A PATRON SAINT.—HALE'S DENIAL OF PARTICIPATION.—THE RAID CONDEMNED IN THE NORTH.—A DETESTABLE CRIME.—FESSENDEN'S DENIAL OF COMPLICITY.—DOOLITTLE'S CHALLENGE.—KING EXPLAINS SEWARD'S SPEECH.—PEACEFUL AND CONSTITUTIONAL MEANS.—BROWN REGARDED AS A LUNATIC.—A FRIENDLESS RUFFIAN.—PRAISED BY POETS.—HUNG FOR MURDER AND TREASON.—SECTIONAL PASSION.—A CONGLOMERATE PARTY.—RESISTANCE TO AGGRESSION.—THE MASSES EMBITTERED.—AMBITIOUS LEADERS.—THE CONFLICT OUTLINED.

It was not until the 29th of January, 1861, that Kansas became a State, and then it was with a Constitution prohibiting slavery; which Constitution had been proposed in a convention held at Wyandotte, in July, 1859. When matters had assumed a more peaceful aspect in Kansas, a miserable anti-slavery fanatic, mad with a thirst for that notoriety which vulgar minds mistake for fame, fully believing the silly stories of Mrs. Stowe and others, and thinking the slaves eager for an opportunity for insurrection, made a raid upon Virginia.

John Brown, or as he was popularly known in Kansas—on account of some murders committed there—Ossawottomie Brown seized the United States arsenal and armory at Harper's Ferry, and firing upon the citizens murdered several of them. Not having sufficient courage to die like a hero, he basely surrendered when he found the U. S. marines were

about to storm the building in which he had taken refuge. Like a craven he preferred the felon's death by the halter to the hero's by the bullet, and he got it.

In view of the fact that the Republican party has since then adopted as its patron saint this red-handed murderer and incitor of arson, pillage, outrage and assassination, it may be well to see what its leaders had to say of him at that time.

Hale, of New Hampshire, denied that the Republican party sought to tamper with slaves. Wilson, of Massachusetts, said the news of the outrage was received in the North with unanimous disapprobation and regret. Everywhere in the North he had heard it condemned.

Mr. Simmons, of Rhode Island, denied that any general sympathy had been excited in the North for Brown or his movements. In his crime there was not one redeeming quality to save it from utter detestation. Fessenden, of Maine, said it was insulting to charge Republicans with complicity in such a crime. Chandler, of Michigan, wanted all traitors to take warning by Brown's execution. Doolittle, of Wisconsin, challenged the Senate to find one Republican paper throughout the Northwest which justified or sympathized with Brown's act.

King, of New York, in explaining the speech of his colleague (Seward), in which he alluded to free labor invading the South, said he knew him to mean that only by peaceful and constitutional means would he effect the overthrow of slavery. Wade, of Ohio, regarded Brown as a lunatic, and thus, when brought face to face with the responsibility of acknowledging whether they supported or sympathized with Brown, one and all denied any knowledge, participation, fellowship or sympathy with the crazy ruffian. It was only

after time had in some measure condoned the awful infamy of his intent, and partisan passion had smothered all human sympathy with those in rebellion, that Brown's praises were chanted by Republican poets and his acts applauded by Republican politicians.

What help or counsel Brown may have had at the time, will never be known. If any, incited by politicians, as some supposed, he held his peace and they trembling at the menace of their treason made no sign, but gave a sigh of relief when the hangman's rope had done its work upon Brown. It is true that great efforts were made to save these traitors from the scaffold and the magnanimity of Virginia was appealed to to spare them, though upon what grounds, save those of silly sentimentality, we have never been able to learn. Why a mad dog or a wolf should meet with mercy no sane person can conceive, and either of these animals, afflicted with the most violent rabies, would have been an amiable companion for a slave-holder compared with the fanatic, Brown. Not the slightest reason existed why he and his comrades should not be promptly hung for the murders they had committed at Harper's Ferry, if not for treason.

Fearing that sectional passion might cause the dissolution of the Union so long threatened, patriotic men of all parties endeavored to calm the rising storm that bade fair to shatter the ship of state. Numbers of discontented Democrats, charmed by the idea of the abolition of slavery, but detesting the aristocratic fallacies of the Republicans, determined upon a Northern Democracy, which should retain the principles of their old party and adopt abolition. The Southern Democracy, fearful of intended wrongs, became now a unit upon the question of resistance to any further aggressions from the Anti-slavery party.

In this condition of affairs northern and southern leaders took advantage of the hopes and fears of the masses to embitter them against each other and to produce an antagonism that should bring about peaceable secession or civil war. As to who was most to blame for the bloody and bitter conflict that afterward ensued we shall not here attempt to show, but will merely give, as briefly as possible, an account of the events that led to it.

CHAPTER II.

POLITICAL MEASURES—ABOLITION AND SECESSION.

THE CHARLESTON CONVENTION.—THE TWO-THIRDS RULE.—THE TERRITORIAL SLAVERY QUESTION.—THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.—THE TWO REPORTS.—UNABLE TO HARMONIZE.—THE MAJORITY REPORT.—ADROIT POLITICAL JUGGLERY.—THE UNIT RULE.—THE MINORITY REPORT ADOPTED.—WITHDRAWAL OF SEVEN STATES.—AN EFFORT FOR PEACE.—GEORGIA WITHDRAWS.—VIRGINIA, KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE.—DEFEAT OF HOWARD'S RESOLUTION.—THE DOUGLAS MEN IN FAULT.—THE TWO-THIRDS RULE TRIUMPHS.—AN ADJOURNMENT MOVED.—THE CONVENTION REASSEMBLES.—TYRANNY AND OPPRESSION.—WITHDRAWAL OF OTHER STATES.—MR. CUSHING RESIGNS THE CHAIRMANSHIP.—BEN BUTLER'S ANNOUNCEMENT.—CALLING THE ROLL OF THE STATES.—ACTION OF BUTLER.—CARRIES HIS POINT.—LEAVES THE CONVENTION.—DOUGLAS NOMINATED.—THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.—THE MAJORITY REPORT ADOPTED.—JOHN C. BRECKENRIDGE NOMINATED.—A REPUBLICAN VICTORY ENSURED.

The Democratic National Convention met at Charleston, South Carolina, April 23d, 1860. Thirty-three States and three hundred and three votes were represented. Caleb Cushing was Chairman and the two-thirds rule was adopted, or rather continued, as in all other Democratic conventions. From the very start a wide difference of opinion between the bulk of the southern and northern members prevailed, the former insisting that slaves were property and could be held as such in any of the Territories, while the latter adhered to Douglas' Squatter Sovereignty doctrine.

By a unanimous vote the delegates declared that no nominations should be made until a platform had been adopted. Not until the fifth day did the committee, composed of one

member from each State, conclude its labors and then a majority and minority report were presented. These reports were warmly discussed and finally returned to the Committee on Resolutions to see if the two reports could not be harmonized. A favorable action could not be had and on the sixth day the two reports were again presented. Slavery in the Territories was the rock upon which they split. The slavery report was favored by all of the southern delegates in the committee and also by the members from Oregon and California.

The majority report recited that the Territorial Governments being temporary and provisional, all property of settlers in them should be protected, and that until the Territory became a State it was the duty of the Government to protect all property held by settlers; that the right of sovereignty did not begin until the Territory became a State, when it had a right to admission whether its Constitution admitted or prohibited slavery.

By adroit juggling the States of New Jersey and Pennsylvania voting their delegates as individuals, while the others voted under the unit rule—the majority casting the entire vote of the State—the minority report received a majority. Under this state of affairs Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas refused to vote on the second resolution of the minority report, and on the 30th of April Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Texas withdrew from the convention.

Mr. Russell, Chairman of the Virginia delegation, now endeavored to restore harmony, and to give all time to think over a reconciliation and to calm their excitement, proposed an adjournment until the next day. This was agreed to,

but when the convention met May 1st, the Georgia delegation, considering that the adoption of the minority report was a piece of trickery, withdrew. Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee were the only Southern States remaining and their delegates set to work to make a compromise that would again unite the party. This resolution the friends of Mr. Douglass never permitted to come to a vote, and thus was the Democratic party disrupted and secession insured.

Mr. Howard of Tennessee, after failing to get his compromise resolution before the convention—when with the assured aid of the New York delegation it could have been passed—was able to secure a vote of 141 to 112, reaffirming the necessity of a two-thirds majority for a nomination, and thus were the friends of Mr. Douglas for a time defeated. For three days the balloting continued, but of the 202 votes necessary to a nomination Douglas failed to secure at any time more than $152\frac{1}{2}$. Seeing that a nomination was impossible, Mr. Russell, of Virginia, moved an adjournment to Baltimore, the date to be the 18th of June, 1860.

In the resolution the Democratic party of all the States was requested to send delegations, or rather to “make provisions for supplying all vacancies in their respective delegations.” On the date set the convention re-assembled, with Mr. Cushing in the Chair. Immediately after organizing, Mr. Howard of Tennessee made a motion “that the President of this convention direct the Sergeant-at-arms to issue tickets of admission to the delegates of the convention, as originally constituted and organized at Charleston.”

This was bitterly opposed by the Douglas delegates, they having had new elections in some of the States which had withdrawn at Charleston, and from which new delegates representing meager minorities, *but instructed for Douglas*,

now appeared. The Douglas majority, created by the withdrawal of the eight Southern States mentioned, was used in a tyrannical and oppressive manner, and in consequence the withdrawal of almost the entire delegates of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland, California, Oregon and Arkansas, was brought about. It was now half past ten A. M. and the convention adjourned until ten the next morning.

When the convention assembled the next day, Mr. Cushing resigned its Presidency to take a position amongst his delegation on the floor. Tod of Ohio now took the Chair, when Ben. Butler announced that a part of the delegation from his State (Massachusetts) wished to retire. Vehement cries of "no" and "call the roll" interrupted him. Mr. Tod asked the Secretary to call the roll of the States. To this call Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont turned in a solid vote for Douglas.

Massachusetts was next called. At this point Mr. Butler arose and said he had a paper which he desired to have read. He was at once assailed with interruptions of "I object," etc., but he quoted precedents in support of his position and was permitted to proceed. Stating that a majority of the States had already withdrawn, he said that he would no longer sit in the convention, and accompanied by Mr. Cushing and four others of the Massachusetts delegates he left the hall. The balloting was continued by this skeleton convention and Mr. Douglas finally nominated. Mr. Fitzpatrick of Alabama was nominated for Vice-President, but declined it, and Mr. H. V. Johnson of Georgia was named for the position by the Executive Committee—the convention having adjourned *sine die* immediately after Fitzpatrick's nomination.

The two-thirds rule had necessarily been set aside in this convention, and the same action was had in the National Democratic Convention which met at Baltimore on the 23d of June (1860) and which nominated John C. Breckenridge and General Joseph Lane. Mr. Cushing was President of this convention. The majority report of the Charleston Convention was unanimously adopted, and after the withdrawal of several proposed names Breckenridge was nominated unanimously.

Thus occurred the split in the Democratic party which ensured the election of Abraham Lincoln, which brought about the secession of the Slave States and the great civil war. Whether this could have been much longer postponed, even had the Democracy remained united, is a question that can never be solved, but it is most likely that the conflict was, as Helper pronounced it, an irrepressible one and predestined to occur upon the acquisition of power by the Republicans.

CHAPTER III.

POLITICAL MEASURES—WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION.

THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1860.—BICKERING FACTIONS.—A NEW RECRUIT SELECTED.—THE CONSTITUTIONAL UNION CONVENTION.—A FORLORNE HOPE.—REPUBLICAN SUCCESS.—ELEVEN STATES SECEDE.—BUCHANAN'S BELIEFS.—SENTIMENTS OF HORACE GREELEY.—THE DUTY OF CONGRESS.—REPUBLICAN OBSTINACY.—THE CRITTENDEN COMPROMISE.—ABOLITION OR SECESSION.—COURSE OF THE BORDER STATES.—SOUTHERN CONSERVATIVES.—REPUBLICAN ENMITY.—INSULT AND INJURY.—EXTREME PARTISANS.—WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN EFFECTED.—ACCUSATIONS AGAINST FLOYD.—THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.—A PARTY WITHOUT A PRINCIPLE.—STATE RECONSTRUCTION.—JUDGE UNDERWOOD'S OPINION.—JOHNSON'S VIEW OF RECONSTRUCTION.—REMOVAL OF STANTON.—THE IMPEACHMENT TRIAL.—THE CONTEST OF 1864.—GRANT'S ELECTION.—SHAMELESS CORRUPTION.—THE LEGAL TENDER DECISION.—GROUND FOR GREENBACKERS.—COMPLEXION OF THE PARTY.—THE PROHIBITIONISTS.—A MISERABLE FAILURE.

The Republican Convention met at Chicago, May 16th, 1860. The vote for Fremont had greatly elated them and they saw in the bickerings of the two factions of the Democracy almost a guaranty of their success at the next election. They saw that the strength of the Democracy would be frittered away in domestic strife, and the American party they did not fear. In this convention Seward, Chase, Cameron, Weed, Wilmot and other prominent men of the Republican party were set aside and Lincoln, a comparatively new recruit, nominated.

The American or Constitutional Union party, as it was now called, assembled in convention at Baltimore, May 9th, 1860, and the result was the nomination of Bell and Everett. This ticket was probably put up in the forlorn

hope of a complication in the Electoral College and a compromise in the House. This party no longer maintained its secret organization, but it adhered to its views in regard to foreign emigration and suffrage. With the two Democratic tickets and the one put forth by the Republicans, this made the fourth party in the field.

The result of the election was the success of the Republican ticket and the withdrawal, in the autumn and winter of 1860-61, of South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana, Alabama, Arkansas, Texas, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia. A history of the secession movement would necessarily include a history of the civil war, and this we do not contemplate.

Believing in the sovereignty of the States, or at least doubting the authority of the general government to coerce them, and noticing that the sentiments of Horace Greeley and other leading Abolitionists were to permit the peaceable secession of the States, he left to Congress, where he believed the authority invested, to apply the remedy for this dissolution of the bond between the States. To go into the question of States rights, and the extent of the authority of the government in coercing seceding members of the Union is one which would require larger limits than we can allow to it.

In order to show the determination of the Republicans to prevent a peaceable solution of the difficulties, which by their threats and the actions of their fanatical emissaries they had been mainly instrumental in bringing about, it is only necessary to say that they voted *en masse* against the consideration of the Crittenden compromise and also voted solidly against giving the people of the country a voice in the matter by having it determined at the polls. They were deter-

mined to rule or ruin, and they intended to carry out their threats that either abolition must prevail or the Union be dissolved.

Every Eastern State placed itself on record against this effort at conciliation—a rather singular proceeding for constituencies that had so often threatened to have recourse to the measure of secession themselves. The Border States were earnest advocates of pacification and made many and earnest efforts to soothe the asperity of the sectional strife, and it is a great pity that they could not have been spared all participation in the conflict that followed, and let those on each side, who forced on the collision, fight it out.

There were large numbers of conservative men in the South, who at first neither favored secession nor desired a conflict with the government, but their leaders succeeded in convincing them, through the action of the Radical Republicans in defeating all efforts at a compromise, that they had no security in the Union against insult and spoliation, and thus prepared them for war. That some of the extreme Southern leaders desired a separate confederacy cannot be truly denied, but they had always been chary of exhibiting this desire to the masses of the slave-holding States. Had the people been prepared for such views, as many writers have falsely asserted, these leaders while in control of the government could easily have placed their section in such a state of equipment by distribution of arms and by placing their creatures in command of the regular forces as to have insured success.

Floyd has been accused of having placed in southern arsenals all of the small arms belonging to the United States, but on examination we find that out of 541,565 muskets and rifles he had delivered to some of the Southern States and

to Kansas their militia quotas amounting to 115,000 muskets, about one-fifth of the entire number. This we allude to since it has often been claimed that the Democratic officials armed the South for secession. The progress and results of the civil war we shall not have space for considering further than to state that by the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1st, 1863, the Republican party accomplished the single idea, aim and end, of its organization and thenceforth was without a principle.

State reconstruction from the "military districts" into which they had been thrown by the Republican party is a subject requiring too great space to be treated here. A singular feature of this declaration that the seceded States had become conquered provinces was the fact that Jefferson Davis, although captured and held for years a prisoner, was never tried for the crime of treason. This was because the Republican leaders knew he could never be convicted, and Judge Underwood, a thorough Republican, expressly stated to a Congressional Committee that the only means of convicting him would be by "packing a jury."

Johnson, who had succeeded to the Presidency upon the assassination of Lincoln, took the view that the States should at once be admitted to full fellowship. Horace Greely was in favor of complete amnesty to those lately in rebellion. Johnson's impeachment and the failure of his enemies to oust him from his office has been shown elsewhere. His removal of Stanton who was a pig-headed and impudent tyrant and a fellow capable of any baseness was certainly justifiable under the circumstances, and much honor is due to those Republican Senators who were too honest to be led by party passion into the grave error of voting for impeachment.

The Presidential contest of 1864 is hardly worthy of mention. Repeating by moving train loads of soldiers from point to point, terrorism and disfranchisement made a Democratic canvass a mere farce. In 1868 similar tactics on the part of the administration were followed, and Grant and Colfax were elected by a very large majority, and now began a more shameless course of tyranny and corruption than had ever before been seen. So shameless and enormous did the party thievery and infamy become that many of its best and ablest men either retired to private life or joined the organization known as Liberal Republicans.

Rome in its most corrupt age never witnessed such degeneracy as did the American Republic at this time. Congressmen were bought and sold like sheep, and lobbyists, male and female, carried memorandum books in which the prices of American Senators and Representatives were noted down in plain figures. Naval rings, Indian rings, improvement rings, whisky rings, and Credit Mobiliers were fostered in its National Capital, and bribery became as common and unchecked as the ordinary operations of any legitimate traffic.

The Legal Tender Decision of 1870 proved that Chase was not the only poor lawyer that had, for partisan purposes, been foisted onto the Supreme Bench. Without this decision the Greenback party would have had no ground to build upon, and this thorn in the side of the Republicans would have been avoided. Made up of discontented men of both the opposing parties it had, from 1873 to 1880, quite a respectable following in a few of the States, but the distress succeeding the panic of 1873 having abated, it is practically dead. In Republican States they were generally disap-

pointed Republicans, and in Democratic States they generally proved disguised Republicans.

In 1872 the Prohibitionists had set up still another party. The new "Richmond in the field" was constituted of fanatics who, having made up their minds that it was too expensive to use stimulants themselves, at once determined that no one else should do so. The German being wedded to his beer, the Irishman to his potteen, the Westerner to his Bourbon and the Eastern man to his rye, this party was left without followers and scored only 5,608 popular votes out of a total of 6,466,165. Retiring from the political field they consoled themselves with strong potations of root-beer, soda pop and ginger tea.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL MEASURES—THEFT OF THE PRESIDENCY.

A SUBJECT OF WONDER.—NOMINATION OF TILDEN.—HAYES THE REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE.—RISING OF THE PEOPLE.—ROGUES' REASONS.—A PATRIOTIC MAN.—A CROWNING INFAMY.—HAYES' ADMINISTRATION.—GRANT'S BAYONET RULE.—THE INFYMOUS EIGHT.—CATCHING A TARTER.—HAYES' FOLLOWING.—ACHANGE OF BASE.—LONGING FOR GRANTISM.—THE THIRD TERM HERESY.—GARFIELD SECURES THE NOMINATION.—GENERAL W. S. HANCOCK.—THE REPUBLICAN MAJORITY.—AN ELECTORAL SERMON.—THE CORRUPTION FUND FOR INDIANA.—STAR-ROUTE THIEVERY.—ASSASSINATION OF GARFIELD.—GUILTEAU THE STALWART.—GREATER THAN JOHN BROWN.—ARTHUR INAUGURATED.—A FOP AND A BON VIDANT.—HIS PROSECUTIONS A FAILURE.—GENERALS AND HONORABLES.—THE REPUBLIC STILL SAFE.—HER COURSE THROUGH THE CENTURIES.

After Grant it became a subject of wonder what the Republican party could do more infamous, unconstitutional or unpatriotic than it had already done. The answer was to come sooner than the people thought. In 1876 the Democracy placed in nomination the sage, patriot and statesman, Samuel J. Tilden of New York, while the Republicans following their accepted dark horse policy named Rutherford B. Hayes a comparatively unknown Ohio politician and a man of very small caliber.

The people, tired of radical misrule, rose in their might and Tilden was elected by a popular majority of nearly 300,000. He also gained a majority of the electoral vote, but as his inauguration would have resulted in the unearthing of sufficient frauds to send two-thirds of the Republican leaders to prison, they determined to place their creature in power even should the result be civil war.

The most dangerous crisis of the Republic was now at hand, but Tilden, patriotic and magnanimous, suffered wrong and injustice rather than deluge his country with the blood of its citizens and the liberties of the people were subverted in the inauguration of R. B. Hayes. This is the blackest crime in the history of the Republic, the fraud of frauds and the crowning infamy of the Radical party. For partisan purposes it had overridden the will of the people and traitorously used the machinery of the government for its own overthrow.

But one good thing can be said of the administration of Hayes, and that is that he did not use the military to interfere in State elections or government. He inaugurated the policy of Federal non-interference and the carpet-bag governments that Grant had tyrannically upheld by the bayonets of the United States army, soon fell to pieces and the States were relieved of these incubi and succubi that were draining the life blood of the people. As one poison is often used to counteract another, so the fraudulent seating of Hayes proved an antidote to some of Grant's tyrannies.

The infamous eight of the Electoral Commission found that when Hayes was firmly seated in the Presidential Chair his naturally kindly heart and desire to calm all sectional agitation, coupled with a sufficient degree of firmness to carry out his own will, had placed them in the position of the Irishman who caught a tartar. Their partisan infamy had produced instead of another Grant, desirous of maintaining an iron military rule in the South, a civil lawyer, who determined to appeal to more constitutional and humane measures.

The better class of the Republicans followed Hayes in this matter, while the more violent demagogues opposed

him with the bitterest hostility. This was in a measure abated when Hayes, toward the close of his administration, began to fall somewhat into the Grant methods. This was no doubt intended to bring over the extreme Radicals to his support, but he failed of his object, and when he left the Presidential Chair, he had earned the contempt of almost every party. He was a man of petty capacity, and filled the office in a small, mean way, but not so badly as he might have done.

Conkling, Cameron, Logan, and others of their views, longing for a renewal of the evils which cursed the country under Grant, determined to violate the precedent established by Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe—the fathers of the Republic—and again place Grant in the Presidential Chair. This third term heresy found sufficient opponents amongst patriotic Republicans to defeat it, and thus another political infamy by this party was prevented. Sherman and Blaine thinking that there were, even in the Republican party, other men capable of filling the Presidency, united to defeat Grant, and easily did so.

James A. Garfield secured the nomination by this coalition, and Grantism was again rebuked. This was a healthy indication that the people were not yet ready for innovations of the third term sort, and were determined to preserve the traditions of the founders of the Republic.

Opposed to Garfield, the Democracy presented Gen. W. S. Hancock as its candidate. This was felt by many, if not most of the masses, to be a mistake, as it was due to Tilden to allow them a chance to rectify the great wrong which had been done him in 1876. The result of the election of 1880, was a Republican majority of 915 in the popular vote and of 59 in the electoral vote. The votes stood.

Garfield—Popular vote, 4,442,950; electoral vote, 214.
Hancock—Popular vote, 4,442,035; electoral vote, 155.

Could a stronger sermon be preached against the present electoral system than this showing of 915 votes equalling an electoral vote of 59?

Garfield had been elected to the United States Senate, but resigned, and John Sherman was elected as his successor. In order to carry Indiana, an immense amount of money had been expended in bribery, by the Republican leaders, Dorsey, the star-route thief, and others, being the distributors of the fund collected for this purpose. The star-route swindles were a legacy of the Hayes *regime*, that steal having its inception during his administration.

Garfield lived but six months after his inauguration, that ceremony taking place on March 4th, 1881, and his death occurring September 19th, 1881. He was the second of the American Presidents who fell by the hand of an assassin. The creature who fired the fatal shot from which Garfield died described himself truly as “a stalwart of the stalwarts.” He was one of those unbalanced minds—of whom this party has produced so many—who could not distinguish between notoriety and fame, and had recklessly imbibed the party teaching that everything done by the party was right.

If, he reasoned, John Brown (who with an armed mob entered Harper’s Ferry and brutally fired upon and murdered its citizens in the street) was a hero, the man who removes an obnoxious member of the party must be a grander one, and thus reasoning he put into effect their higher law doctrines that justify murder, theft and other crimes with the cant that “the end sanctifies the means,” and slew the President that a stalwart might succeed him.

For the fourth time in American politics the Vice-President succeeded to the Presidency when Chester Allan Arthur was inaugurated September 20th, 1881. Arthur has proved the least American of all of our Presidents. A fop and a *bon vivant* his tastes have led more to the designing of effective clothing than the modelling of policies. He has made a fairish sort of officer, and while his reform measures have been neither well planned nor effectively carried out, yet he has at least made a show of purifying the moral atmosphere of his administration.

His star-route prosecutions—which may have been honestly designed—proved but a farce, the prey escaping with facility from the meshes of the law. Had Garfield lived, there is every reason to believe that numerous convictions would have resulted, and many Generals and Honorables might now have been serving terms in our penitentiaries. Whether that justice would have recompensed us for the difficulties with foreign nations into which his “brilliant Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, would have plunged us is a question to be considered.

Thus in a condensed form we have given an account of the principal men and measures of American politics, from the inception of the resistance to England’s tyrannical oppressions down to the present time. The record, while it is frequently smirched with stains and tarnished by the enormities of those who have been temporarily stood in power, is still not one to cause us to despair of the Republic. From each of her battles and tempests the brave ship of state has emerged with flying colors, and the historian of a hundred centuries hence may be able to write of her broad enduring pennant, as the poet has sung of the English ensign:

“That for a thousand years has braved the battle and the storm.”

God grant that, purified from the pollution of Republican rule and injustice, with swelling sails and her starry banner floating free, she may sail on and on into the centuries, adown the sea of time, the foe of tyranny and oppression, and the refuge of earth's distressed and miserable.

CHAPTER V.

THE PLATFORM ADOPTED.

NO SPECIOUS VOTE BEGGING.—NO SLURRING OF LIVING ISSUES.—
EVERY PLANK PURE GOLD.—EVERY ONE CAN STAND ON IT.—
THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE.—REPUBLICAN RECORD.—PARTY
PLEDGES.—TARIFF REFORM.—TRADE EXTENSION.—HONEST
MONEY.—EQUAL RIGHTS.—A FREE BALLOT.—TERRITORIAL
OFFICERS.—SUMPTUARY LAWS.—CHURCH AND STATE.—PROP-
ERTY RIGHTS.—THE LABOR INTEREST.—PUBLIC LANDS.—
PAUPER LABOR.—PROTECTION OF CITIZENS.—RIVER IMPROVE-
MENT.—THE AMERICAN MARINE.—AMERICAN POLICY.—A
TRIBUTE TO TILDEN.

The following is the platform of the Democracy in council assembled, at Chicago, in 1884. Unlike that of the Republican party, there is no specious bidding for irresponsible votes; no miserable slurring over the most important issues of the day; no use of high sounding words to conceal a want of honesty or a paucity of ideas. Every plank is pure gold, and as the Democratic party is the party of the people, as opposed to that of the monopolists, so the Democratic platform is one on which the whole people of the country may stand secure in the enjoyment of every honest and honorable right. It needs neither comment nor eulogy; it is the voice of the people and will be understood and appreciated by them:

“The Democratic party of the Union, through its representatives in National Convention assembled, recognizes that, as the nation grows older, new issues are born of time and progress and the old issues perish. But the fundamental principles of the Democracy, approved by the voice

of the people, remain, and will ever remain, as the best and only security for the continuance of free government. The preservation of personal rights, the equality of all citizens before the law, the reserved rights of the States and the supremacy of the Federal Government within the limits of the Constitution will ever form the true basis of our liberties and can never be surrendered without destroying that balance of rights and powers which enables a continent to be developed in peace, and social order to be maintained by means of local self-government. But it is indispensable for the practical application and enforcement of these fundamental principles that the government should not always be controlled by one political party. Frequent change of administration is as necessary as constant recurrence to the popular will; otherwise abuses grow, and the government, instead of being carried on for the general welfare, becomes an instrumentality for imposing heavy burdens on the many who are governed, for the benefit of the few who govern. Public servants thus become arbitrary rulers. This is now the condition of the country, hence a change is demanded.

The Republican party, so far as principle is concerned, is a reminiscence; in practice it is an organization for enriching those who control its machinery. The frauds of jobbing which have been brought to light in every department of the government are sufficient to have called for reform within the Republican party. Yet those in authority, made reckless by the long possession of power, have succumbed to its corrupting influence, and have placed in nomination a ticket against which the independent portion of the party are in open revolt. Therefore a change is demanded. Such a change was alike necessary in 1876, but the will of

the people was then defeated by a fraud which can never be forgotten or condoned.

Again, in 1880 the change demanded by the people was defeated by the lavish use of money contributed by unscrupulous contractors and shameless jobbers, who had bargained for unlawful profits or for high offices.

RECORD OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The Republican party during its legal, its stolen and its bought tenures of power, has steadily decayed in moral character and political capacity. Its platform promises are now a list of its past failures. It demands the restoration of our navy; it has squandered hundreds of millions to create a navy that does not exist. It calls on Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed. It imposed and has continued those burdens. It professes the policy of reserving the public lands for small holders by actual settlers; it has given away the people's heritage till now a few railroads and non-resident aliens, individual and corporate, possess a larger area than that of all our farms between the two seas. It professes a preference for free institutions; it organized and tried to legalize a control of State elections by Federal troops. It professes a desire to elevate labor; it has subjected American workingmen to the competition of convict and contract labor. It professes gratitude to all who were disabled or died in war leaving widows and orphans; it left to a Democratic House of Representatives the first effort to equalize both bounties and pensions. It proffers a pledge to correct the irregularities of our tariff; it created and has continued them; its own tariff commission confessed the need of more than 20 per cent reduction, its Congress gave a reduction of less than 4 per cent. It professes the protection

of American manufacturers; it has subjected them to an increasing flood of manufactured goods and a hopeless competition with manufacturing nations, not one of which taxes raw materials. It professes to protect all American industries; it has impoverished many to subsidize a few. It professes the protection of American labor; it has depleted the returns of American agriculture, an industry followed by half our people. It professes the equality of all men before the law; in attempting to fix the status of colored citizens, the acts of its Congress were overset by the decision of its courts. It "accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform;" its caught criminals are permitted to escape through contrived delays or actual connivance in the prosecution. Honey-combed with corruption, out breaking exposure no longer shocks its moral sense. Its honest members, its independent journals, no longer maintain a successful contest for authority in its counsels, or a veto upon bad nominations. That change is necessary is proved by an existing surplus of more than \$100,000,000 which has yearly been collected from a suffering people. Unnecessary taxation is unjust taxation.

We denounce the Republican party for having failed to relieve the people from crushing war taxes which have paralyzed business, crippled industry and deprived labor of employment and of just reward.

PARTY PLEDGES.

The Democracy pledges itself to purify the administration from corruption, to restore economy, to revive respect for law and to reduce taxation to the lowest limit consistent with due regard to the preservation of the nation, to creditors and pensioners, knowing full well, however, that legislation affecting the occupations of the people should be

cautious and conservative in method, not in advance of public opinion, but responsive to its demands.

The Democratic party is pledged to revise the tariff in a spirit of fairness to all interests; but in making a reduction in taxes it is not proposed to injure any domestic industries, but rather to promote their healthy growth. From the foundation of this government taxes collected at the Custom House have been the chief source of Federal revenue. Such they must continue to be. Moreover, many industries have come to rely upon legislation for successful continuance, so that any change of law must be at every step regardful of the labor and capital thus involved. The process of reform must be subject in the execution to this plain dictate of justice. All taxations should be limited to the requirements of economical government. The necessary reduction in taxation can and must be effected without depriving American labor of the ability to compete successfully with foreign labor, and without imposing lower rates of duty than will be ample to cover any increased cost of production which may exist in consequence of the higher rate of wages prevailing in this country. Sufficient revenue to pay all the expenses of the Federal Government economically administered, including pensions, interests and principal of the public debt, can be got under our present system of taxations from Custom House taxes on fewer imported articles, bearing heaviest on articles of luxury and bearing lightest on articles of necessity.

TARIFF REFORM.

We, therefore, denounce the abuse of the existing tariff, and subject to the preceding limitations, we demand that Federal taxation shall be exclusively for public purposes,

and shall not exceed the needs of the government economically administered. The system of direct taxation, known as the "internal revenue," is a war tax, and so long as the law continues, the money derived therefrom should be devoted to the relief of the people from the remaining burdens of the war, and to be made a fund to defray the expense of the care and comfort of worthy soldiers, disabled in the line of duty in the wars of the Republic, and for the payment of such pensions as Congress may from time to time grant to such soldiers; a like fund for the sailors having been already provided, and any surplus should be paid into the Treasury.

EXTENDING TRADE RELATIONS.

We favor an amendment to the continental policy based upon more intimate commercial and political relations with the sister republics of North, Central and South America, but entangling alliances with none.

HONEST MONEY.

We believe in honest money, all the gold and silver coinage of the Constitution, and a circulating medium convertible to such money without loss.

EQUAL RIGHTS.

Asserting the equality of all men before the law, we hold that it is the duty of the government in its dealings with the people to mete out equal and exact justice to all citizens, of whatever nativity, race, color or persuasion, religious or political.

A FREE BALLOT.

We believe in a free ballot and a fair count and we recall to the memory of the people the noble struggle of the

Democrats in the Forty-fifth and Forty-sixth Congress by which a reluctant Republican opposition was compelled to assent to legislation making everywhere illegal the presence of troops at the polls as the conclusive proof that a Democratic administration will preserve liberty with order.

TERRITORIAL OFFICERS.

The selection of Federal officers for the Territories should be restricted to citizens previously resident therein.

SUMPTUARY LAWS.

We oppose sumptuary laws which vex the citizens and interfere with individual liberty.

We favor honest civil service reform and the compensation of United States officers by fixed salaries.

CHURCH AND STATE.

The separation of church and state and the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship.

PROPERTY RIGHTS.

While we favor all legislation which will tend to the equitable distribution of property, to the prevention of monopoly and to the strict enforcement of individual rights against corporate abuse, we hold that the welfare of society depends upon a scrupulous regard for the right of property as defined by law.

IN THE INTEREST OF LABOR.

We believe that labor is best rewarded where it is freest and most enlightened. It should, therefore, be fostered and cherished. We favor the repeal of all laws restricting the free action of labor and the enactment of laws by which

labor organizations may be incorporated, and of all such legislation as will tend to enlighten the people as to the true relation of capital and labor.

THE PUBLIC DOMAIN.

We believe that the public lands ought, as far as possible, to be kept as homesteads for actual settlers; that all unearned lands heretofore improvidently granted to railroad corporations by the action of the Republican party should be restored to the public domain and that no more grants of land shall be made to corporations or be allowed to fall into the ownership of alien absentees.

We are opposed to all propositions which, upon any pretext, will convert the general government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States or the citizens thereof.

PAUPER LABOR.

In reaffirming the declaration of the Democratic platform of 1856, that "the liberal principles embodied by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, and sanctioned in the Constitution, which make ours the land of liberty and the asylum of the oppressed of every nation, have ever been cardinal principles in the Democratic faith," we nevertheless do not sanction the importation of foreign labor or the admission of servile races unfitted by habits, training, religion, or kindred for absorption into the great body of our people, or for the citizenship which our laws consider. American civilization demands that against the immigration or importation of Mongolians to these shores, our gates be closed. The Democratic party insists that it is the duty of this government to protect, with equal fidelity and vigilance, the rights of its citizens, native and naturalized, at home

and abroad, and to the end that this protection may be assured, United States papers of naturalization issued by courts of competent jurisdiction must be respected by the Executive and Legislative Departments of our government, and by all foreign powers.

PROTECTION OF CITIZENS.

It is an imperative duty of this government to efficiently protect all the rights of persons and property of every American citizen in foreign lands, and demand and enforce full reparation for any invasion thereof. An American citizen is only responsible to his own government for any act done in his own country or under her flag, and can only be tried therefor on her own soil and according to her laws, and no power exists in this government to expatriate an American to be tried in any foreign land for any such act. This country has never had a well defined foreign policy, save under the Democratic administration ; that policy has ever been, in regard to foreign nations, so long as they do no act detrimental to the interests of the country or hurtful to our citizens to let them alone ; that as the result of this policy we recall the acquisition of Louisiana, Florida, California, and of the adjacent Mexican Territory by purchase alone, and contrast these grand acquisitions of Democratic statesmanship with the purchase of Alaska, the sole fruit of a Republican administration of nearly a quarter of a century.

THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

The Federal Government should care for and improve the Mississippi River and other great water-ways of the Republic, so as to secure for the United States easy and cheap transportation to tide water.

MERCHANT MARINE.

Under a long period of Democratic rule and policy, our merchant marine was fast overtaking and on the point of outstripping that of Great Britain. Under twenty years of Republican rule and policy, our commerce has been left to British bottoms, and almost has the American flag been swept off the high seas. Instead of the Republican party's British policy, we demand for the people of the United States an American policy. Under Democratic rule and policy our merchants and sailors flying the stars and stripes in every port, successfully searched out a market for the varied products of American industry. Under a quarter century of Republican rule and policy, despite our manifest advantage over all other nations in high-paid labor, favorable climates and teeming soils; despite freedom of trade among all these United States, despite their population by the foremost races of men and an annual immigration of the young, thrifty and adventurous of all nations; despite our freedom here from the inherited burdens of life and industry in old world monarchies, their costly war navies, their vast tax-consuming, non-producing standing armies; despite twenty years of peace, that Republican rule and policy have managed to surrender to Great Britain, along with our commerce, the control of the markets of the world.

AN AMERICAN POLICY.

Instead of the Republican party's British policy we demand, in behalf of the American Democracy an American policy. Instead of the Republican party's discredited scheme and false pretense of friendship for American labor, expressed by imposing taxes, we demand in behalf of the Democracy, freedom for American labor by reducing

taxes, to the end that these United States may compete with unhindered powers for the primacy among nations in all the arts of peace and fruits of liberty.

A TRIBUTE TO TILDEN.

With profound regret we have been apprised by the venerable statesman, through whose person was struck that blow at the vital principle of republics (acquiescence in the will of the majority), that he cannot permit us again to place in his hands the leadership of the Democratic hosts, for the reason that the achievement of reform in the administration of the Federal Government is an undertaking now too heavy for his age and failing strength. Rejoicing that his life has been prolonged until the general judgment of our fellow countrymen is united in the wish that wrong were righted in his person for the Democracy of the United States, we offer to him in his withdrawal from public cares not only our respectful sympathy and esteem, but also that best homage of freemen the pledge of our devotion to the principles and the cause now inseparable, in the history of this Republic, from the labors and the name of Samuel J. Tilden.

With this statement of the hopes, principles and purposes of the Democratic party, the great issue of reform and change in administration is submitted to the people in calm confidence that the popular voice will pronounce in favor of new men, and new and more favorable conditions for the growth of industry, the extension of trade, the employment and due reward of labor and of capital, and the general welfare of the whole country.’’

The reading of the platform was concluded at ten o’clock. It was listened to attentively and with very few interrup-

tions; in fact none of its paragraphs except that referring to Mr. Tilden was applauded. There was, however, a slight manifestation of applause when the reading closed.

Mr. Morrison said he would yield now to Gen. Butler, to present a minority report. He would then allow Gen. Butler thirty minutes to discuss his report; fifteen minutes to Mr. Converse of Ohio, and five minutes to Mr. Watter-son, and then he would move the previous question and ask for a vote.

Gen. Butler said that with most things in the platform he agreed; some things ought to be added to it, and one thing especially ought to be changed, that he would submit to the better judgment of the Convention. He asked the Clerk to read his report.

CHAPTER VI.

NOMINATIONS IN ORDER.

CALLING THE ROLL.—BRECKENRIDGE OF CALIFORNIA.—THURMAN OF OHIO, NOMINATED.—BEHOLD THE MAN.—SECONDED BY GEN. WARD.—A BATTLE ALREADY WON.—THE OLD RED BANDANNA.—AN INTELLECTUAL AJAX.—JAMES A. M'KENZIE OF KENTUCKY.—JOHN G. CARLISLE NAMED.—A TALISMANIC NAME.—HONOR HIS BIRTHRIGHT.—A SPLENDID CONTRAST.—FACING THE AUDIENCE.—MASSACHUSETTS CALLED.—BUTLER HISSED.—BAYARD'S NOMINATION SECONDED BY GENERAL HOOKER OF MISSISSIPPI.—GOVERNOR CLEVELAND NOMINATED.—PROMPTLY SECONDED.—TAMMANY TREACHERY.—KELLY'S TOOL, GRADY.

Nominations of candidates were now in order and the roll of States was called. As California was reached a young member of the delegation from the Golden State, a son of John C. Breckenridge, the famous Vice-President and General, came forward, mounted the platform and after a hearty round of applause spoke as follows:

“MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: By inadvertence California was passed in the Democratic Convention, but we desire to say when the ballots are cast next November she will never be passed by a Republican candidate. [Applause.] She has sent us here as her representatives, in few and simple words to present for the consideration of the Democratic party a man who needs no eulogy at your hands, whose name is enshrined in the hearts of the whole American people. She has asked us to present for your consideration a man whom, if you nominate, we believe there is a settled conviction in the hearts of all he will be the next President of the United States. Such an

election is a sacred trust and a solemn responsibility. There never was in the history of the party a rarer or grander opportunity to make an appeal to the country. Let us present a man of whose integrity and devotion to principle there has never been a question; upon whose character or reputation there has never fallen a shadow or blot or stain; whose ability and learning shall be commensurate with the duties of the high office to which we would elevate him. Let us nominate such a one and place him side by side with the Plumed Knight of Maine and simply say to the American people, 'Behold the men!' [Applause.] Gentlemen of this Convention, we of California believe we can confidently turn and say, 'Behold the man,' Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio. [Loud cheers and applause, several delegates rising in their seats and waving their hats.] Of all the honored and illustrious names which have been and shall be presented for consideration of this Convention, there are none which are dearer to the great heart of the American people than that lofty statesman who for more than twenty years has been the boldest, ablest Democratic advocate of Democratic doctrine and Democratic principle. California did not send us here to waste our time in eulogy, but simply to present his name. One word more. We are told, and it is the only objection which has been raised to this man, who, at the close of the war, when that strife was vibrating in the air, annihilated in the great State of Ohio a Republican majority of nearly 40,000 votes, we are told as the only objection to him that Ohio is an October State, and our reply is, gentlemen, that this is not a State, but a National Convention and we are here to select a national candidate.'' [Applause.]

By unanimous consent, Gen. Durbin Ward, of Ohio, took the platform and seconded the nomination of Thurman. After speaking of Senator Thurman's long and honorable career, Gen. Ward said:

“Gentlemen, Ohio is the battleground of this Presidential election, make what you will of it. [Laughter and applause.] You can win without it, but if you carry that State in October the battle is already won, and you need go no further. [Loud applause.] Mr. President and gentlemen of this Convention I came here with unstudied words, having had no opportunity whatever to make the least preparation; but when the Senator, who served twelve years in the Congress of the United States, a gentleman who was a great lawyer, a ripe jurist when he entered that body; and while he was there, without any disrespect to anybody else, whenever a stranger was called on to point out a great man, one of the Senate of the United States, he invariably pointed to Allen G. Thurman, who carried his red bandana handkerchief. [Loud applause.] Gentlemen, we are entering upon the battle, the war is on. We want no Plumed Knight, clad in holiday armor of tournament fighting for his fair lady's braid of hair. You want an Ajax, with helmet and spear, to thunder along the line and deal death-giving blows to foes whom we meet. [Applause.] Allen G. Thurman is a man in thought, in intellect, in courage, in statesmanship, in adherence to constitutional law, in defence of the rights of the masses, in defiance of the power of monopoly, in defiance of the corruptions of the age. Who to-day stands as the peer of Allen G. Thurman, unless it be that man who has passed away from the arena of politics, Mr. Tilden?” [Applause.]

When Delaware was called, Mr. Gray of Delaware

SCENE IN THE CHICAGO CONVENTION AT THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF CLEVELAND'S NOMINATION.



ascended the platform, and being introduced by the Chairman, said:

“MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:— I am instructed to present to you the name of a man worthy to receive the nomination for the exalted position of President of these United States. [Loud applause.] I do so, Mr. President and gentlemen, with a deep and realizing sense of the great responsibility that rests upon this Convention, and upon every member of it, to so act that the great opportunity that God Himself, we reverently believe, has given us, may not pass away unimproved—act that the light which illuminates our horizon may not be darkened, but may grow and increase into the noon-day splendor of victory in November.

“The career of the Republican party, marked as it has been by reckless disregard of every constitutional right and every dear right that belongs to the people, fittingly culminated in a candidate and platform that were made and declared in this hall a little more than a month ago. That culmination has flung defiance into the face of American manhood, and has shocked the consciences of the best men of every party. Such a nomination, gentlemen, is a sign of the decadence of a great party, not a sign of its increasing strength. Now, gentlemen, the Democracy of this great country demands that you shall give them as a standard-bearer in the pending contest one who has been tried in the balance and never found wanting. [Applause.] It demands a statesman whose wisdom and experience are known of all men. [Applause.] It demands a leader whose chivalric courage will never falter, [applause] and who can and will bring to the dust the Plumed Knight of False Pre-

tense and Personal Dishonor. [Applause.] It demands a man with high stainless honor, who will strike corruption whenever or wherever it shows its head. It demands a man with a national record that will bear the electric light of hostility. [Applause.] It demands a man with a private character that will defy the malignant tongue of slander. [Applause.] The Democrats of the United States demand a man who shall in public and private character be the very antithesis and opposite of the nominee of the Republican party. [Applause.] Gentlemen, I speak from my heart, I know; but I do not believe that you will think that my affections have altogether dispossessed or taken possession of my head when I say that the man who has all this and more, and whose name I know is now leaping from your hearts to your lips, is Thomas Francis Bayard, of Delaware. [Great applause.] Why, gentlemen, this Republic, this dear country of ours, was reared by such men as these, and the Democratic party will always point with boundless pride to his spotless name and his magnificent career. [Applause.] Who, I ask, has defended that great palladium of our liberties, the rights of the States, more gallantly than he? When did his voice ever fail, on any great question that concerned the interests and honor of this country, to utter words of wisest counsel, or to combat what he knew to be false? How can you afford, gentlemen of the Democratic party, to pass him by? [Applause.] What account will you give the Democracy who sent you here if you should meet the challenge of our opponents by failing to emblazon his name on our banners? [Applause.] What will you say to the people over this great land who are now anxiously looking to the deliberation of this Convention, and waiting to see the lightning of events flash to the uttermost corners

of this Union that name which will be answered in the battle of honest and pure government? [Applause.]

“Gentlemen of the Convention, with Bayard as your candidate you will make no mistake. The choice of his name will still the voice of faction [cheers] and close up the ranks of the Democracy in every State. He will carry every doubtful State, and he will make those States doubtful that were never doubtful before. [Cheers.] Enthusiasm will take the place of apathy and will grow and still grow as the autumn leaves are falling, until the dreaded November is made bright by the peans of our victory.” [Cheers.]

After Mr Gray concluded, the Secretary proceeded to the calling of the roll until the State of Kentucky was reached, when Mr. Jas. A. McKenzie of Kentucky arose and presented the name of John G. Carlisle as a candidate in the following words:

“MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION—I desire in the name of the State that will give 50,000 majority to the nominee of this Convention [applause] to place in nomination for the highest office within the reach of human ambition the name of the present distinguished Speaker of the American Congress, John G. Carlisle. [Cheers.] In all essential characteristics—manliness, and courage, and ability, and patriotism,—he is the peer of any great name that will be mentioned in this great Convention. [Applause.] The Presidency of the United States is a position of such transcendent honor and dignity and responsibility that only such as those whose names the Republic delights to honor should be named in the Convention. His ill health has compelled the retirement from the

arena of politics of the Sage of Graystone. [Applause.] No name carries with it more of talismanic charm and respect of the American people than that of John G. Carlisle. It behooves this Convention in the great exigency of our National affairs and when it seems to me that we have but to pluck the success that is in our sight, that we should name for the great office of President a man not born for the smaller, selfish schemes, but a man to whom dishonor is unknown, a man made up of greatness; one who brings the victor's birthright in his name alone. Such a man is John G. Carlisle. [Applause.]

“It may be urged, gentlemen, that he comes from the wrong side of the river, but, my God! if the statute of limitation ever is to run against that, it ought to begin now. [Applause.] I belong to a class of men who believe the war is over. [Applause.] I belong to a class of men who believe that there is as much honor, and virtue, and patriotism in the South as there is anywhere else on God's earth. [Applause.] I appeal to the sentiment of this Convention, representing the intelligence of the Democracy of America, if I come before it with any unnatural plea when I ask you to recognize that the arbitrament of the sword has settled the war, and we present you a peace offering in the person of John G. Carlisle.

“Carlisle and the Republican party present a contrast to which I would like to invite the attention of this Convention. One a combination and a form indeed where, if ever, a God had seemed to set his seal to give the world assurance of a man; the other, leprous with accusation, and covered and tattooed all over with bribery, fraud and corruption. The Democratic party, under Carlisle's leadership, would become the antithesis of everything which the worst elements of the

Republican party advocate and espouse, and God knows there are worse elements in that party than in any other party on the face of the earth. [Laughter and applause.] That party would represent the spirit of order rather than the genius of riot, it would represent the dominion of law rather than the recklessness of license, it would represent a betterment of our civil service rather than the longer continuance of a reign of spoils and jobbery.”

The speaker had been directing most of his remarks to the Chairman, and there were loud cries for him to turn around and face his audience. The speaker continued, but apparently not understanding what was wanted, he again faced the Speaker and continued:

“It would appeal to the conservatism of the country, with the announcement that the Presidency should be regarded as a great public trust and not as a personal perquisite.”

At this point the demands of the audience became so vociferous that the speaker turned around and faced them. He inquired of the Chairman what was wanted, who replied that they wanted him to face the audience. He then came forward, and in a voice to be heard all over the house, said:

“All right; I ain’t afraid to face you. [Laughter and applause.] It would announce that corporations should be under the dominion of the law, and not that the law and lawmakers be under the dominion of the corporations; that our lost commerce should be restored to its rightful place on the high seas—[cheers]—rather than that our sailorless ships should fall down piecemeal and our carrying trade come and go in foreign bottoms. Above all and above everything, it would announce that the war taxes should be put on a peace basis, rather than that peace taxes should be continued on a war basis. It would announce that our

public domain should be utilized as homes for American people [cheers], rather than as seignories for foreign syndicates and railroad corporations [cheers], and it would announce to the country that there should be demanded honesty, capacity and integrity of every person intrusted with political power or public place [cheers], rather than the longer continuance of a civil service in which personal fealty is the highest test of qualifications, and in which dishonesty and incompetency are not infrequent exceptions to the general rule. I invoke upon this National Convention the spirit of peace and harmony. Will you have need of 50,000 Kentucky votes when you come to make up the sum total of the result in November? I urge Mr. Carlisle's claim with less hesitation when I reflect that of the 201 electoral votes necessary to secure a Democratic President we propose in the South to furnish you 153 of them and not charge you a cent for them. [Laughter and applause.] We are all a Democratic family. Do not let us fall out about questions of detail. I want to see this country sectionized on parallels of longitude as well as on parallels of latitude. I want to live to see the time, and I believe I will live to see that time, when the spirit of such confraternity will exist between the sections, North and South, as to obliterate all unpleasant memories of the war. [Applause.] I have read in English history that when the forces of Oliver Cromwell were lying upon their arms awaiting battle they were frequently engaged in angry disputation concerning matters of faith. But when the order to charge came down that line from Old Ironsides, with the forces of Prince Rupert in front, they forgot their differences and had no thought but victory until success crowned the arms of the Protectorate. The honorable gentleman, the Chairman of this great Convention, will

shortly give to this Democratic host the command to charge all along the line. [Applause.]

“Laying aside, then, all differences, all dissensions, all bickerings and all strife, let us charge the Republican party front and rear, and with John G. Carlisle at the head of the column, win such a victory as was won by the Puritan soldiery over the forces of Charles at Naseby and Marston.” [More applause.]

When the State of Massachusetts, which came next on the list, was called and Mr. Abbott of that State arose, hisses and demonstrations of dissent were audible upon all sides. These demonstrations were caused by the fear that the mountebank and demagogue Butler would be put in nomination.

Mr. Abbott, of Massachusetts:—“Mr. Chairman: Massachusetts presents no name for nomination at this time.”

The States of Michigan and Minnesota were called, no response being made.

When Mississippi was reached, Mr. Walthall, of that State, said the State of Mississippi, through the Hon. Charles E. Hooker, desired to second the nomination of the Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, of Delaware.

Gen. Hooker, who carried one coat sleeve on his breast, was received with cheers and made an eloquent speech in behalf of Bayard. After referring to the different candidates already presented, he said:

“We of the South have come here for the purpose of uniting in making a nomination with our fellow-Democrats all over the Union which shall achieve a Democratic victory in November next [applause], and as we take our ground, we take our position, not because we have special favorites, but because we are looking to a nomination that may com-

fact together upon principles asserted in our platform and upon candidates nominated by the Democracy of this whole Union. [Loud applause.] It is said that Thomas F. Bayard comes from a small State. Aye, but, gentlemen of the Convention, in his own person he has a heart large enough and a head big enough to embrace the whole Union from sea to sea. [Applause.] We want a nomination made here upon principles which shall command success; we want a nomination made of a man whose record is so fair that it is utterly and entirely unassailable; we want the nomination of a man who stands upon the great financial question in an attitude of acceptability to every portion of this widespread country; we want a man who, upon the tariff question, stands upon a firm, safe, middle ground, between the impracticability of free trade upon the one side and the equally unconstitutional doctrine of protection upon the other. [Loud applause.]

“We do not intend, I hope, that the great Democratic Convention of the nation shall be split in two by the quarrels anywhere had upon the question of the tariff. We intend to make the plank broad enough for us all to stand upon and desert no principle in maintaining it.”

“Gen. Hooker’s speech was received with great applause. Motions to adjourn and to take a recess were ruled out of order, and the Secretary proceeded with the call of the roll.

When the State of New York was reached, Mr. Manning of New York, arose and said: “Mr. Chairman, New York presents the name of Gov. Cleveland, and desires to be heard through Daniel Lockwood, of Buffalo.

Mr. Lockwood spoke as follows:

“MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION.—It is with no ordinary feeling of responsibility that I appear

before this Convention as a representative of the Democracy of the State of New York—[applause]—for the purpose of placing in nomination a gentleman from the State of New York as a candidate for the Presidency of the United States. This responsibility is made greater when I remember that the richest pages of American history have been made up from the records of Democratic administration. [Applause.] This responsibility is made still greater when I remember that the only blot in the political history done at Washington, an outrage upon the rights of the American people, was in 1876, and that in that outrage and that injury to justice is still unavenged [applause], and this responsibility is not lessened when I recall the fact that the gentleman whose name I have presented to you is a political associate from my youth. Beside we have marched to the tune of Democratic music, side by side have we studied the principles of Jefferson and Jackson, and love the faith in which we believe, and during all this time he has occupied the position of a private citizen, yet always true and always faithful to Democratic principles.

“No man has greater respect or admiration for the honored names which have been presented to this Convention than myself, but, gentlemen, the world is moving, and moving rapidly, from the North to the South. New men, men who have acted but little in politics, are coming to the front. [Applause.] To-day there are hundreds and thousands of young men in this country, men who are to cast their first vote, men who are independent in politics, and they are looking to this Convention, praying silently that there shall be no mistake made here. They want to drive the Republican party from power, they want to cast their votes for a Democrat in whom they believe. [Ap-

plause.] These people know from the record of the gentleman whose name I shall present, that Democracy with him means honest government, pure government and the protection of the rights of the people of every class and every condition.

“A little more than three years ago I had the honor, at the city of Buffalo, to present the name of the same gentleman for the office of Mayor of that city. It was presented then for the same reason, the same causes that we present it now. It was because the government of that city had become corrupt and had become debauched, and political integrity sat not in high places. The people looked for a man who would represent the contrary, and without any hesitation they named Grover Cleveland as the man.”

[At this point there was a wild burst of applause, some of the New York delegation, practically the entire Wisconsin delegation and some few scattering delegates stood up and made all the demonstrations possible in Cleveland's favor. As soon as the uproar subsided and comparative order was regained, Mr. Lockwood continued.]

“The result of that election and his holding that office was, that in less than nine months the State of New York found herself in a position to want just such a candidate and for such a purpose; and when at the Convention in 1882, his name was placed in nomination for the office of Governor of the State of New York, the same people, the same class of people knew that that meant honest government, it meant pure government, it meant Democratic government, and it was ratified by the people [cheers]; and, gentlemen, now after eighteen months' service there the Democracy of the State of New York come to you and ask you to give to the country, to give independent and Democratic voters of the

country, to give young men of the county the new blood of the country, and I present the name of Grover Cleveland as its standard bearer for the next four years.

“I shall indulge in no eulogy of Mr. Cleveland; I shall not attempt any further description of his political career. It is known, his Democracy is known, his statesmanship is known throughout the length and breadth of this land, and all I ask of this Convention is, let no passion, no prejudice influence their duty which they owe to the people of this country. Be not deceived. Gov. Cleveland can give the Democratic party the thirty-six votes of the State of New York on election day. He can by his purity of character, by his purity of administration, by his fearless and undaunted courage to do right, bring to you more votes than any body else.

“Gentlemen of the Convention, but one word more: Mr. Cleveland’s candidacy before this Convention is offered upon the ground of his honor, his integrity, his wisdom and his Democracy. [Cheers.] Upon that ground we ask it, believing that if ratified by this Convention he can be elected, and take his seat at Washington as a Democratic President of the United States.”

CLEVELAND’S NOMINATION SECONDED.

Senator Grady, of New York, tried to catch the eye of the Chairman, but the Chair recognized Mayor Carter Harrison of Chicago, assuring Mr. Grady that he would be recognized in his turn. Mr. Harrison made a speech seconding the nominating of Mr. Cleveland. When he had concluded there were cries of “Kelly” and some confusion. The Chair recognized Mr. Richard A. Jones, of Minnesota, who also seconded the nomination of Mr. Cleveland.

CHAPTER VII.

NOMINATIONS CONTINUED.

HENDRICKS OF INDIANA.—A BURST OF ENTHUSIASM.—CHEERS FOR THE OLD TICKET.—M'DONALD NOMINATED.—DELICATE AND IMPORTANT DUTIES.—REPUBLICAN EXCESSES.—NEED OF HONESTY AND ECONOMY.—A VAST STANDING ARMY.—STUPENDOUS FRAUDS.—THE SENTIMENT OF '76.—THE PEER OF THE PROUD-EST.—ANOTHER STORM OF APPLAUSE.—COL. THOMAS E. POWELL.—HODDLY, OF OHIO, NOMINATED.—THE IMPORTANCE OF THE BUCKEYE STATE.—AN ACKNOWLEDGED LEADER.—SENATOR WALLACE, OF PENNSYLVANIA.—SAMUEL J. RANDALL NOMINATED.—PROMPTLY SECONDED.

Florida, Georgia and Illinois were called. When the State of Indiana was called loud cheers rent the air and Mr. Menzie, of that State, arose and said: "The Indiana delegation has requested the Hon. Thos. A. Hendricks to present, in the name of Indiana, a candidate for President."

Mr. Hendricks came forward amid a perfect outburst of enthusiasm, lasting several minutes. Upon the subsidence of a wild gallery, a delegate with a voice like a rolling-mill, shouted: "Three cheers for the old ticket," and they were given with extraordinary vigor.

The Chair:—Gentlemen of the Convention, we will best justify the exalted respect we all feel for the gentleman from Indiana by aiding him with his task with your profound silence. I have the honor to present Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks, who will make a nomination in behalf of Indiana.

Mr. Hendricks said:

"MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: This is my first experience as a delegate in a National

Convention, and as I rise to present the name of a distinguished citizen of Indiana in connection with the office of President of the United States, I feel the delicacy and the great responsibility of the duty I have undertaken. The people now demand a change in the management of Federal affairs, and if this Convention will give them half an opportunity they will execute that purpose in the election of a President in the coming fall.

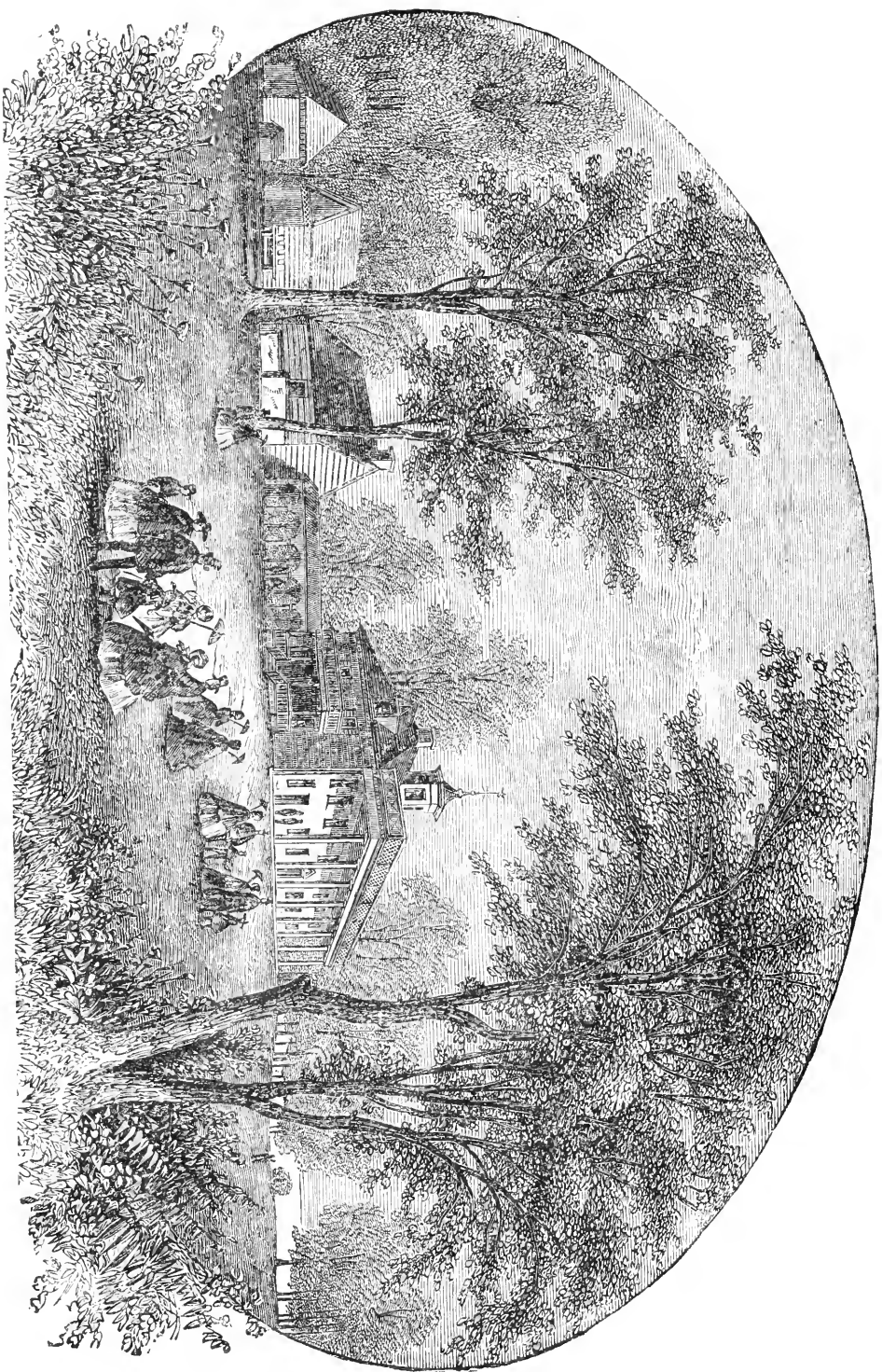
“I believe the nominee of this Convention will soon become the chosen President of the United States. [Cheers.] He will be the first inaugurated President for twenty-four years. [Cheers.] He will come in burdened with all the duties that usually belong to the high office, and in addition such duties and delicate responsibilities as belong to the transfer of public affairs from the representatives of one party to the representatives of another, after long control by the latter.

“May I ask your attention while I briefly refer to some of the labor and responsibilities that will require courage, talent and strength on the part of the next President of the United States? The Constitution imposes upon the President the duty of making such recommendations to Congress of such measures as he shall deem important and necessary. How delicate and important that duty becomes. The President is clothed with this authority by the Constitution, the Constitution imposing it upon him. Congress will heed his recommendation with great care. When Congress convened last December revenues were annually accumulating in excess of the demands of an economical government at the rate of over \$50,000,000 a year. That, too, under a revenue system that had been adjusted within one year by the Republican party. When the accumulated gold over-

flows the vaults of the Treasury and tempts extravagant, wasteful and sometimes corrupt legislation, who can question that revenue reform is the first duty of a successful party? [Cheers.] And if a Democratic House had been received by a President in harmony with it, recommending a well-considered system of revenue reform, eliminating vices that nestle in existing laws, and reducing very largely the amount of the revenue, does any man doubt that now there would have been a great relief from the burden of excessive taxation, and that we would have had a system of revenue resting upon justice and fair play?

“Foremost among the duties and obligations which this great Convention should admonish its nominee to represent is that the laws be executed, and that the expenditures be greatly reduced. Shall the vast standing army of 120 regiments continue under Democratic rules? [Cries of “no.”] At the close of the war I believe 60,000 were found sufficient to execute the civil service. The official register, as a matter of course, was somewhat increased, and it should not excite our special wonder; but when from 60,000, in the course of twenty years, it shall advance to 120,000, it bids the Democracy pause. The supernumeraries must be dismissed; unnecessary employments discontinued. And in this connection may I not say that the people whom you represent will stand like a stone wall beside the next President in his endeavor to promote economy and general reform? Eight years ago our party declared at St. Louis that reform is necessary in the civil service, and it demanded a change of system, a change of administration, a change of party, that we might have a change of measures and of men. [Applause.] The experience of every year has since confirmed that declaration and strengthened the demands. It

is but two weeks ago that a Secretary, standing upon the witness stand in the presence of a Senate committee to hear testimony to impeach one of the bureaus in his own department—it was in the Department of Medicine and Surgery—said that the false vouchers, he supposed, did not exceed \$63,000. In former times, when the sensibilities of the people became offended by official corruption, they themselves understood the work of reform. I dare say many of you bear it in memory that an entire administration went down with it, because of the defalcation or embezzlement of \$62,000. That was but forty years ago, and that was the only case that occurred attracting attention during that administration. Yet, so fearful was the punishment by the people, that the party went from power for the time being. Who expects that a party long in power, with all the emoluments of public position received and enjoyed by its followers and retainers, can reform itself? The recent case to which I have referred is very instructive. In that testimony, the Secretary said that a year ago he had received a letter informing him of the misconduct of one of the employes, and that very recently he had been told of two others engaged in the nefarious transactions; but he said to the committee that so earnest was the pressure, especially by members of Congress, for reappointment of the head of the bureau, that he could not believe it possible that his bureau was in the condition in which he found it at last. The offences against the public service are numerous, many of them flagrant. They must be pursued to their hiding places. They must be brought forth and exposed and punished, and the agents that the President will employ—I mean the new President that you are to nominate here—the agents that he shall employ must have no one to shield and



MOUNT VERNON, THE HOME OF GEORGE WASHINGTON.

nothing to conceal. Let fidelity and competency once more on the part of employes and justice and fair play, so far as the people of the country are concerned, be observed, and reforms will follow. I hope never again to see the cruel and remorseless proscription for political opinions which has disgraced recent administrations.

“But bad as the civil service is, I know that there are men of tried fidelity in it. I know that there are men of ability in the present service, and I would not ask that they should be driven from office; but none but such ought to be continued. In the language of a writer, when we come to define the rights of the outs and those that are in, let it be understood that none but the fittest shall survive. [Applause.]

“Now, Mr. President, I hope the new administration will hold itself instructed by the sentiment of 1876 [cheers] in opposition to centralization, to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidation in one, and thus create the form of government.

“I have but one other sentiment to refer to before I shall call your attention to the claims which I propose to suggest for the man that I will nominate, and in respect to this sentiment no one is responsible but myself. Nations never devise a more rational umpire of difference than force. Much blood and treasure always flow before international controversies can be settled; controversies will arise—they are inevitable—but the civilization of this age demands that they be referred to the disinterested States for settlement by friendly arbitration. The intervening ocean protects our young Republic from the menace of European arms. It will be a beautiful spectacle when this Republic, so strong and so secure, shall lead the nations in a movement for permanent peace and the relief of the people everywhere from

the maintenance of standing armies and ships of war. The best of Gen. Grant's administration was settling by arbitration the controversies touching the Alabamas. That settlement stands in bright, glorious contrast in all history to the use that he himself made of our own army when he beleagued the capital, that men might have offices to which they were never elected. [Loud applause.]

“Mr. President and Gentlemen, I have to suggest for your consideration a citizen of the State of Indiana, the Hon. Joseph E. McDonald. [Loud and long-continued applause.] I thank you for this reception you have given to his name. Born in an adjoining State, Indiana became his home when but a boy. He learned a trade, and that made him self-independent and very respectable [applause], and after that he pursued his studies with such opportunities as he had, and finally prepared himself for the great profession of the law; and from the time that he took his stand in the court-house of his county until the present time, when he may stand, it may be, in the Supreme Court of the United States, he has been the peer of the best of that profession in the West. [Loud applause.] First, he was solicited by the district in which he lived to prosecute the pleas of the State; afterward chosen by the State to represent her as the Attorney General; next—not next to that, but before that—he went from his own district, in which he was raised from boyhood, to the Congress of the United States, and afterward the people of the whole State sent him as a Senator to Washington. Faithfully, diligently, ably, for six years he represented Indiana in the Senate. He was welcomed by the ablest of the Senators as their peer. Mr. McDonald has been a student of the learning that has made the Democracy of the United States what it

is to-day. [Loud applause.] He is familiar with the writings of the fathers, and his opinions are based upon the sentiments that came to him from their pages. He is of clear perception, of strong judgment, of earnest convictions, fair minded and just. If you shall honor him with your nomination, no man will have occasion to find fault with the candid and frank manner of his reception when he may go to the White House.

“Gentlemen of the Convention, I do not speak for McDonald alone. I do not speak for myself alone. I do not speak for those thirty gentlemen who directed me to stand here and speak for them. I speak for a mighty State. [Loud and long-continued applause.] But ten days ago a Democracy that never steps backward, a Democracy that meets the contest when and where it may [applause], instructed those thirty gentlemen and myself to say to you, Joseph E. McDonald is worthy of your consideration as the candidate for President of the United States. [Loud applause.] What is Indiana and what is the Democracy of Indiana? This mighty State, that is neither of the East nor of the West, but sitting midway between the East and West, resting upon Ohio, associating in commerce, in trade, in good neighborhood, with adjoining States, this great State has said to us: ‘Present the name of Mr. McDonald to the greatest convention the world has ever seen’ [applause], and for Indiana I make my appeal to you to-day. What heed will you give to Indiana? For twenty-five years, during which I have had some responsible connection with this great party, she has been without strife or discord in her ranks. [Applause.] She acted always as one man, and when the election days have come, the tread of her Democracy has been as the tread of one regiment

when the hour of battle is at hand. [Applause.] You know very well, gentlemen, that Indiana makes no question whether your candidate shall live in New York, or Delaware or Kentucky. You know very well that when the crisis comes Indiana will give him her vote. Are you going to make it against Indiana because she is so faithful, because she will not hesitate? Are you to say from election to election, from convention to convention: 'We need not trouble about that solid State. She is all right. Her vote will go well at the election. We must take care—oh, just by the way of illustration—we must take care of New York.' [Great laughter and applause.] Is that where, as a representative of the Democracy of Indiana, these thirty gentlemen and myself have to stand in your presence? We ask not a favor, because Indiana is true always, but we ask that that shall not come in judgment against her. [Applause.] When many of your States hesitate, when war had passed, when the smoke of battle had blown away, and the sound of guns upon the plains and among the mountains had ceased, and you struggled and we struggled, Indiana was the first State to carry the banner of Democracy to the front.

“And now, gentlemen, a man of good attainments, of high character, indorsed by my State, I present his name to you, and all I ask is justice, the humblest of us may ask that much; and when it shall come to be that in a Democratic Convention justice may not be asked, then perhaps I had better review the practices of the past and not come to conventions at all. [Laughter and applause.] I thank you, brother Democrats, I thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the attention you have given me while I have spoken for a friend.” [Great and continued applause; a great number

of delegates rising to their feet and swinging their hats etc.]

When Ohio was called, Mr. John R. McClean, of Ohio, said: Mr. President Ohio asks that permission be granted to Colonel Thomas E. Powell to present the name of George Hoardly, of Ohio, [Applause.]

Colonel Powell spoke as follows:

“MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: The auspicious moments with which we are to-day surrounded clearly indicate that the time which is to make the final overthrow of the Republican party is now at hand. [Applause.] If this Convention shall be true to itself and faithful to its party, judicious in its platform and wise in its candidates, our success in the coming struggle is already assured. As we enter upon such a contest wisdom demands that he who is to be our leader shall be able to win the first great engagement of the campaign, and if possible, settle it in October. In a few weeks this whole nation will be anxiously watching the vanguards of the party as they struggle for liberty and supremacy in Ohio. He who doubts the courage, honor, patriotism and the ultimate success of Democracy there has forgotten the record of that great State. At her admission Ohio ranked as the sixteenth State. To-day she stands the third State in this Union. In that great period, in the great race of life, in wealth and in population Ohio has already passed thirteen of her sister States. Her progress in your cause has been still more marvelous. Within a few years she has overthrown and destroyed forever a Republican majority of upwards of one hundred thousand [loud applause], and in its stead, in two successive campaigns, she has recorded large majorities in favor of her candidates and to the credit of her cause. At this hour her home government and all her destinies are in the keeping of your great party.

“The man who had been the acknowledged leader of the redemption of that State, as well as one of the foremost citizens in all her border, is a candidate we now present to the thoughtful consideration of this Convention—Governor George Hoadly, of Ohio. [Applause.] Our hope in him rests not upon faith, but upon recorded history and accomplished facts. As a candidate he has never been defeated at the polls. [Applause.] In the memorable contest of last year, upon a full vote, and when Ohio was fighting the first fight in this contest, he received the largest indorsement ever given to a Democrat in Ohio [applause], receiving nineteen thousand more votes than your great leader of the last Presidential contest, the soldier-statesman, Winfield Scott Hancock. [Applause.]

“George Hoadly is known to the nation as a great lawyer, as a wise statesman, as a fearless and aggressive leader. He is a man of acknowledged ability, of undoubted integrity, a man of courage as well as of wisdom. His whole public and private life is without a stain and without a scandal. Whenever and wherever he has been tried he has been found stronger than his party, and as pure as his cause. He has been the chosen advocate of our party in denouncing and condemning the great fraud of 1877. [Applause.] Since that day up to this hour George Hoadly has been the friend and confidential adviser, and to-day would make a worthy successor of that illustrious Democratic President, Samuel J. Tilden. [Applause.] Under his leadership, under his banner, we can save Ohio to ourselves in October, and give it to you in November. Under his leadership Ohio can enter the race for the crowning glory at the polls. She can struggle with all her sisters to make her borders the hearth-stone of free institutions and the central home of

Democracy in this great Union. Under him Ohio can strike the first successful blow in that victory which, under the providence of God, will commit fifty millions of people to the protection of our great party.” [Applause.]

SAMUEL J. RANDALL.

The Secretary proceeded with the call. When Pennsylvania was reached Senator Wallace took the platform amid great applause and spoke as follows:

“MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: By direction of the Pennsylvania delegation I arise to present to the Democracy of the Republic here assembled the name of a candidate for the great office of President of the United States. The name I give you is found upon every page of your country’s and your party’s history in the last two decades. [Applause.] It is that of no untried tyro in political affairs. [Slight applause.] In the prime and vigor of his mature manhood, with every faculty trained in practical government, an official life of twenty years behind him, clear, luminous and pure, no dishonest action, no corrupt practices have ever stained his escutcheon. [Applause.] And while most of his contemporaries in official life have grown rich through devious and unknown ways, he is still a poor man, whose highest aim has been to fitly serve his people and the Republic.

“Democrats, the hour has struck for the nomination of a Democrat grounded in the faith [applause] and tried in the stern crucible of his party’s service. [Applause.] The path way of expediency lies behind us strewn with the wrecks of our failures. Let us be honest now. Let us stand by the record of our own pure public men. Let us boldly appeal to the people upon that record, and spurn the

delusive promises of our erstwhile bitter foes. [Applause.]

“The name of such a man we bring you. His practical hand, his experienced foresight and his conversance with public affairs will lay the foundations of your return to power so broad, so high, so deep that they will be permanent. [Applause.] He has been practically the leader in the National House of Representatives for twelve years [applause], and his career there has been a vast public benefit. Favoring a reduction of taxation and an economical administration of the government, he has, with skill and success, resisted the lavish expenditure of the money of the people, the waste of the public domain, and unconstitutional and tyrannical force bills. His iron will has put the knife to corrupting extravagance, and compelled a return to comparative purity of administration. Earnest in purpose, pure in life, a trained tribune of the people and a thorough statesman, no favor sways him, and no fear can awe.

“This man, her son, Pennsylvania presents to the Democracy of the Union here assembled in Convention as her candidate for the mighty office of President of the United States in the person of Samuel J. Randall.” [Cheers.]

RANDALL'S NOMINATION SECONDED.

Mr. Cleveland, of New Jersey:—“MR. CHAIRMAN, upon the call of the roll of the States yesterday, when the name of New Jersey was called she was silent, but on behalf of a portion of the delegation from New Jersey it is desired that Governor Abbot of that State shall now second the name of Hon. Samuel J. Randall [cheers], and I respectfully ask from this Convention unanimous consent for that seconding.”

Governor Abbott, of New Jersey, seconded the nomination of Randall. He said that there was a conviction in the

land that if wisdom controls the councils of the Democratic party in making a platform broad enough for every Democrat to stand upon, and in placing upon it a candidate of transcendent ability and pure life, success lies in the results of their deliberations. He believed that Samuel J. Randall as the candidate would reach the controlling vote in the pivotal States more certainly than any other man named. He asked, where does success lie? Not in Minnesota, not in Iowa or other of the confirmed Republican States, but in those close States which were carried by Tilden in 1876.

He reviewed the arguments urged for Cleveland, and said these all applied to Thurman, Bayard and others. Then what excuse in putting aside these grand Democratic veterans for a new man? The record of Randall is pure and stainless, while his public career for twenty years has been in behalf of an economical and honest government. These are practical efforts for reform. Randall would sweep New Jersey like a great political cyclone. He is the friend of laborers everywhere, and the Convention could do no better than nominate him.

